

Current HISTORY



December, 1930

Price 25 Cents

DEATH PENALTY AND CRIME	{ Judge Marcus Kavanagh Warden Lewis A. Lawes
MORALS AND THE CHURCH	Bishop Charles Fiske
DOES THE WORLD WANT PEACE?	David Jayne Hill
BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL FATE	T. J. Wertenbaker
NEW CRISIS IN ZIONISM	Israel Cohen
GEORGES CLEMENCEAU	Pertinax
DAILY LIFE IN RUSSIA	Alzada Comstock
THE RULERS OF AMERICA	N. S. B. Gras
EUROPE'S DOLE-FED MILLIONS	C. DeLisle Burns
BRAZIL — LAND OF CONTRASTS	Edward Tomlinson
THE THEATRE IN AMERICA	T. H. Dickinson
ABUSES OF THE RADIO	Henry Volkening
DECLINE OF CHURCH COLLEGES	A. D. Harmon
MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY	Fourteen Historians

THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY



Their words have wings as swift as light

An Advertisement of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company

WE LIVE and work as no other people have ever done. Our activities are pitched to the swiftness of the instantaneous age.

Whatever happens, wherever it happens and however it may affect you, you may know it immediately over the wires or the channels of the air that carry men's words with the speed of light. Business and social life are free from the restrictions of time and distance—for practically any one, anywhere, may at any time speak with any one, anywhere else.

The widespread and co-ordinated interests of the nation depend upon an intercourse that less than sixty years ago was not possible in a single community. This is the task of the telephone wires and cables of the Bell Telephone System—to make a single community of our vast, busy continent

wherein a man in Los Angeles may talk with another in Baltimore or a friend in Europe as readily as with his neighbor.

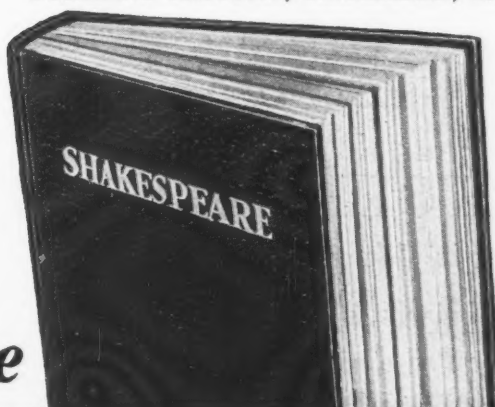
It is the work of the Bell Telephone System to enable friends, families and business associates to speak clearly and immediately with one another, wherever they may be. Its service is as helpful and accessible on a village street as in the largest cities.

To match the growing sweep and complexity of life in this country, to prepare the way for new accomplishments, the Bell System is constantly adding to its equipment and bettering its service.

To this end, its construction program for 1930 has been the largest in its history. This System at all times accepts its responsibility to forward the development and well-being of the nation.



*All in
One
Volume*



Now only
\$1.98

SHAKESPEARE

Everything He Ever Wrote!

HERE is your Shakespeare—in a beautiful one-volume edition at a price so low as to be almost unbelievable. Not a word—not a line—has been omitted from this marvelous collection of the great master's work. Here, printed from new plates on thin, opaque bible paper, is the fountain-head of playwrights and poets in a beautiful 1300-page book only 1½ inches thick! And this complete, gorgeous Shakespeare only \$1.98!

A Triumph of Publishing

Think of it! Shakespeare's 39 complete volumes between two covers, in one book no larger than the average—and at the price of other books that are read and forgotten in a week! This splendid volume comes to you with an offer unmatched for

liberality. We will lend it to you for a week's free examination.

Read Shakespeare— at Our Risk

Only after you have had this book in your possession for a week, examined it carefully and decided that you want it, need you send us the ridiculously low price of \$1.98. Otherwise you may return it at our expense. Do not send any money now. Pay the postman nothing. Enjoy a week's free reading of the Bard of Avon's undying works before you remit or return the book. All you need do now is to mail the coupon.

All of His Plays, Poems—Sonnets

Tempest
Two Gentlemen of Verona
Merry Wives of Windsor
Twelfth Night
Measure for Measure
Much Ado About Nothing
Midsummer Night's Dream
Love's Labours Lost
Merchant of Venice
As You Like It
All's Well That Ends Well
Taming of the Shrew
Winter's Tale
Comedy of Errors
King John
Richard II Richard III
Henry IV Henry VI
Henry V Henry VIII
Troilus and Cressida
Timon of Athens
Coriolanus
Julius Caesar
Antony and Cleopatra
Cymbeline
Titus Andronicus
Pericles
King Lear
Romeo and Juliet
Macbeth Hamlet
Othello
Passionate Pilgrim
Rape of Lucrece
Venus and Adonis Sonnets



WALTER J. BLACK, Inc.
171 Madison Avenue
NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

**WALTER J. BLACK, Inc., Dept. 1312,
171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.**

Gentlemen: You may send me for free examination your one-volume edition of Shakespeare's Complete Works printed in large, clear type on beautiful bible paper. I will either return the book at your expense or send you only \$1.98, plus a few cents postage in full payment within one week.

Name

Address

City..... State.....

☐ Mark X here if you prefer our De Luxe Leatheroid binding at only 50 cents more.

"Build A One Volume Library"

JANUARY

Current History

Will Contain, in Addition to Other Special Articles:

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES—1916

By Professor Charles Seymour

Provost of Yale University

ELIHU ROOT'S PLACE IN HISTORY

By Claude G. Bowers

Author of "The Tragic Era"

THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY IN ACTION

By Clarence K. Streit

Geneva Correspondent of The New York Times

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN AMERICA

By Dr. H. Paul Douglass

Institute of Social and Religious Research

OUR INTERNATIONAL TRADE, 1830-1930

By Henry Chalmers

Chief of Division of Foreign Tariffs, United States Department of Commerce

MUSIC IN AMERICA

By Daniel Gregory Mason

Professor of Music, Columbia University

SPECIAL OFFER! 15 Months for \$3.00

CURRENT HISTORY,

229 West 43rd Street, New York City.

I enclose \$3.00 (or I will remit on receipt of bill), for which please send me CURRENT HISTORY Magazine for 15 months.

Name.....

Street.....

City..... State.....

Current History, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3, December, 1930. Published Monthly. Publication Office, 10 Ferry Street, Concord, N. H. Editorial and General Offices, The New York Times Company at Times Square, New York, N. Y. 25c a copy, \$3.00 a Year; in Canada, \$3.75; Foreign, \$4.25. Entered as second-class matter October 6, 1930, at the Post-office at Concord, N. H., under the act of March 3, 1879. Entered in Canada as second-class matter. Copyright, 1930, by The New York Times Company. Printed in U. S. A.

Books that should be in every home

How to Talk—How to Write

"a veritable encyclopedia of effective expression . . ."

M. M. HOOVER,

Assistant to the Director, University Extension, Columbia University.

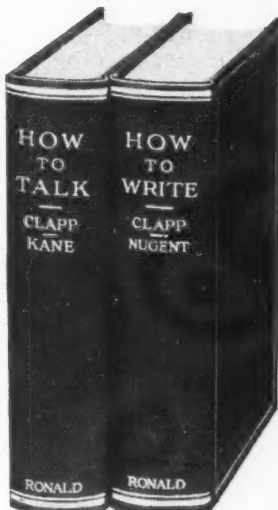
"HOW TO TALK," by John Mantle Clapp and Edwin A. Kane, and "How to Write" by Professor Clapp and Homer Heath Nugent, are the first books ever written to give the kind of assistance most of us need in learning how to talk or write effectively and well in any situation we may encounter. These books are unlike any ever before published. They meet the special requirements of the practical man who, while he has no ambition to be a spellbinder or a professional writer, recognizes the personal importance of being able to express his ideas readily and effectively on any occasion. In these books the authors have adopted a new and simple training method. No formal course of study is

required; all that is necessary is to apply the suggestions of the books to the situations you meet from day to day. A steady development of your powers of expression will follow as a matter of course.

From the very first page that you read you will begin to get ideas that you can put to use at once. The conditions that must be kept in mind in handling any type of situation are carefully analyzed and explained, and then definite suggestions given as to the best way in which to meet that situation. As you read along you will find yourself recalling scores of parallel situations in your own personal experience in which the books' suggestions would have helped you.

You will obtain ideas from these two volumes that you can apply in any writing or talking that you have to do, from the simplest personal note to the most important public speech.

\$10.00 the set



Keep this book beside your dictionary.

A College Grammar

Your dictionary tells you what words mean and how to spell them, but it gives you little or no help in the constant problem of how to use and arrange words correctly and most effectively—that is not its purpose. If you have an adequate grammar alongside your dictionary you can make sure that you are correct.

Here for the first time is such a grammar, "A College Grammar," by Professor Mason Long, is not the child's elementary collection of dry rules of our school days but a grammar that meets the adult's needs of business and social life—a book for today.

We all want to talk and write clearly, logically, forcefully. We want to avoid those mistakes which are so easy to make but which give the impression of either carelessness or ignorance.

Professor Long's practical volume will help you to understand and apply the principles that govern modern correct use of our language according to the latest accepted standards. Much of the material has never before appeared in a volume of this nature and many important principles are given in a new and more easily comprehended form. This will find authoritative information on the many new usages which have grown up in recent years and are now accepted as correct.

Every point in "A College Grammar" is illustrated by specific examples. These examples are more numerous, more varied and more helpful by far than those in any other book of this kind—new or old. You will find them of immense help in properly phrasing your sentences and making those wise choices of diction which lend character to your writing and every-day speech.

\$3.00

"does for the history of the United States what H. G. Wells' Outline did for world history . . ."

—The Minneapolis Tribune.

A History of the American Nation

Professor Willis Mason West's new history is in no sense the orthodox chronological treatment pinned down by dates which we learned by rote in our school days. Instead it brings into perspective the basic events, thoughts, trends which have produced the institutions of our day.

The story of the growth of America is told from the settling of the first few colonies to the machine civilization of today. We see the gradual evolution of the ideals of self-government, of universal education, of political equality, of religious freedom, from their earliest beginnings to their present form.

The struggle between the Congress and the President takes on new meaning when we see why such conflicts are inevitable. The growth in the powers of the judiciary, the conflict between Capital and Labor, the methods of governmental finance, political corruption, the tariff, relations with foreign powers, and scores of other questions which our newspapers daily discuss become of greater significance when we have traced their roots in this fascinating book.

The outstanding characteristic of the book is its extreme readability. The leading figures in the story of America from pioneer times to the present are depicted not as romantic giants of different clay than ours but as living people with all the strengths and weaknesses of human beings. Here at last is a history which any citizen of the United States can read with a feeling of pride in the substantial achievements of his country.

\$6.00

Our Standard Terms Guarantee Satisfaction

You order with the privilege of examination before purchase. Payment is not due until five days after a book has been delivered; you may return it within that period for credit if you find it unsatisfactory.

Monthly Payment Option

If your order amounts to \$5.00 or over, you can, if you prefer, take advantage of our monthly payment terms. Under this plan, you send us each month an amount that will vary with the amount of your order, but will not be less than \$2.50, plus on each instalment a uniform service charge of 10c, so that your entire account will be paid up within six months from the date of your purchase.

APPROVAL ORDER FORM

The Ronald Press Company,
Dept. M406,
15 E. 26th St., New York.

Send me the books checked below, billing me at the prices shown.

- ☐ How to Talk—How to Write, 2 volumes.....\$10.00
☐ Long, A College Grammar 3.00
☐ West, A History of the American Nation... 6.00
☐ Check here if you wish to use our monthly payment plan.

Name

Address

City..... State.....

Fill in, tear out, and mail

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

American Intellectual Maturity

THERE are many indications of the growth of intellectual maturity in the United States, and one of these is the appearance of American self-criticism which amounts in some instances to almost a national introspection. This is shown particularly in numerous books which aim to examine the bases and trace the rise of American civilization. Perhaps the outstanding work in this field has been done by the Beards, but the late Vernon Louis Parrington also commands a place. In 1928 the first two volumes of his *Main Currents in American Thought* were awarded the Pulitzer Prize for History; the third and last volume (*The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America, 1860-1920*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930. \$4.) was delayed by Professor Parrington's untimely death in 1929.

Professor Parrington has taken the old but increasingly popular thesis of Taine that literature is an expression of the environment in which it is produced and applied it to the history of American letters. Probably few people will disagree with this philosophy of literature, although some may well dissent from Parrington's treatment. But his third volume, incomplete as it is—and much of the latter part is little more than unpolished lecture notes—is less strident in tone than the first volumes and contains less special pleading for the author's belief in the Jeffersonian way of life. He develops brilliantly his discussion of the various patterns of thought which pervaded the America that was growing up after the Civil War, an America afflicted with all the good and evil of a lush industrial revolution. Even as economic life was filled with conflicting and contradictory tendencies, so the world of thought was torn by skepticism and realism, liberalism and aristocracy of mind, the decadence of the New England school and the insurgent freshness of the new West that was becoming the real America.

Throughout there is a note of disillusionment, but maturity is not apt to accept the tone of *Pippa Passes* for its philosophy of life, and one need not be surprised that Professor Parrington came to feel that all was not right with the world. One may well regret that the author did not live to complete his great study of American thought, but even in its present form it is a stimulating and valuable contribution towards an evaluation of American intellectual history.

Perhaps another indication of America's growth toward intellectual maturity is the awarding of the Nobel Prize in Literature to Sinclair Lewis—the first time the prize has been taken by an American. Later generations will undoubtedly turn to the novels of Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street*, *Babbitt* and even *Elmer Gantry*, for vivid pictures of the America of the 1920s. That these novels tell only part of the story may not be realized by future scholars, and once again the uncertain value of "source" material will be demonstrated. All the same, Americans must feel a certain glow of satisfaction that one of their men of letters has joined the company which is graced by such writers as Shaw, Thomas Mann, Anatole

France, Romain Rolland and others.

Many leaders in American education and thought are coming to pay more and more attention to the utterances of President Ernest Martin Hopkins of Dartmouth College. Among the most recent of his published addresses is one delivered at Milton Academy last Spring (*Education and Life*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930. \$1.50) in which he discussed the relation of education to the ordering of life. In this little essay the social implications of education are analyzed as well as the individual's own problem of self-discovery through education; philosophers of life and education, as well as laymen, will find the discussion worth their reading.

While the country is still echoing with the

REVIEWS IN THIS ISSUE

THE CASE FOR BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

By Arthur H. Basye

EUROPE: THE WORLD'S BANKER.

By Walter Langsam

THE REAL WAR.

By Wayne E. Stevens

RUSSIA'S FIVE-YEAR PLAN.

By William MacDonald

THE WAR GUILT THESIS.

By Lloyd W. Eshleman

DANIEL WEBSTER.

By E. Francis Brown

THE RIDDLE OF INDIA.

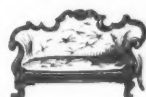
By Walter P. Hall

VICTORIAN ENGLAND.

By D. E. Wolf

New Crowell Books

Early American Furniture Makers



By Thomas H. Ormsbee

Who were the creators of our fine antiques? This interesting book provides the answer. 100 illustrations. \$3.50



David's Star of Bethlehem

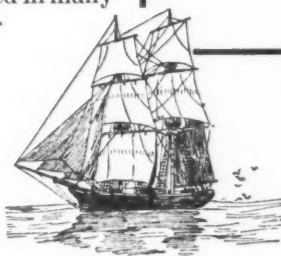
A Christmas Story
By Christine Whiting
Parmenter

One of the most appealing Christmas stories that has been published in many years. Frontispiece by Anderson. \$1.00

The Atlantic

By Stanley Rogers

The Atlantic, so rich in tradition, mystery and adventure, is the theme of another delightful book by the author of "Sea Lore." Fully illustrated. \$2.75



Send for
complete Fall List

The Englishman and His Books

In the Early Nineteenth Century
By Amy Cruse

An illuminating study of reading and living conditions, a century ago. 32 Illustrations. \$3.50

Announcement Extraordinary!

THE NEW Pogany Rubaiyat

The finest Rubaiyat yet presented, with decorations by that distinguished artist, Willy Pogany, is now ready after many months of labor.

Twelve plates in full color, besides 85 decorations and gold inlays.



Regular Edition, cloth \$ 6.00
Full leather 14.00

Special, limited edition, 500 copies for America

Cloth \$15.00
Full leather 25.00

*One of the season's most
beautiful books*

THOMAS Y. CROWELL CO.
393 Fourth Avenue New York.

noise of the Congressional elections, many readers will find George Wharton Pepper's account of his years in the Senate timely and interesting. (*In the Senate*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1930. \$2.) In half-journalistic style the former Senator tells how the Senate works, and perhaps unconsciously gives some insight into the mind of a rather typical member of that august body.

Much of American history is being recorded in biography and as the biographers for want of material turn to some of the lesser lights of the American drama, new bits of interesting social history are brought to view for the first time. Such is the case with the recent life of Lucy Stone (By Alice Stone Blackwell. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1930. \$3). To masculine minds the name of Lucy Stone conjures up something closely bordering on the fanatical, but this is the result of ignorance, for the fanaticism of Lucy Stone is anachronistic in 1930. Stripped of much of its sentimentality, this biography contains many picturesque incidents of the fight for women's rights, a fight which extended from the comparatively petty right of women to vote in church meetings to the exercise of the franchise in national elections. It is not a great book but it may pave the way for an adequate study of the first American "Lucy Stoner."

Of a far different nature is the biography of Frederick Townsend Ward, a biography which links the Salem of clipper ship days with China in the time of the great Taiping Rebellion. (*A Yankee Adventurer: The Story of Ward and the Taiping Rebellion*. By Holger Cahill. New York: The Macaulay Company, 1930. \$3.50). Here is the fascinating story of the son of a Salem shipping family who in the search for adventure went out to Shanghai to save the Manchu Empire from the Taiping rebels. In 1860 Ward organized a motley army with the rather amused patronage of the Shanghai merchants and moved against the rebels; two years later, at Ward's death, his force had become the "Invincible Army" with which "Chinese" Gordon soon won undying fame. In America Ward is forgotten, but in China he is a Confucian saint with a temple in his honor.

Lives of Jefferson Davis still continue to appear; the latest (*High Stakes and Hair Trigger: The Life of Jefferson Davis*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930. \$3.50) is by Judge Robert W. Winston who, a few years ago, wrote the outstanding life of Andrew Johnson. Winston's treatment of Davis is more in the way of a portrait study than a full-length biography and much of the extraneous background which so often creeps into biographies is pruned away. The President of the Confederacy, according to this

biographer, grew really great during the long years after Appomattox when as a "martyr" he mellowed into graciousness and dignity. Before, with all his ability, he had been stubborn and unbending, self-contained and unable to delegate power, and yet with all his faults "he guided the Confederacy longer, probably much longer, than any one else could have done." Judge Winston has not given us the final life of Jefferson Davis but he has written an interesting, readable biography which, on the character side at least, must stand near the top of the long line of Davis studies.

E. FRANCIS BROWN.

The Case for British Imperialism

By ARTHUR H. BASTY

Professor of History, Dartmouth College

THE APOLOGIA OF AN IMPERIALIST. Forty Years of Empire Policy. By W. A. S. Hewins. 2 vols. 312, 357 pp. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc.

THE publicity which has attended the recent Imperial Conference in London and the internal divisions of the British Conservative party has focused attention upon a conflict which has been raging with more or less violence for thirty years. The categorical demand of the Canadian Prime Minister for the adoption of an imperial preferential policy which involved the taxing of wheat by Great Britain and the equally categorical refusal of that demand by the present British Government marks, for the moment at least, another defeat of the cause to which the author of these volumes has devoted his life.

Hewins was, with Lord Passfield (then Sidney Webb), founder of the London School of Economics, and its director, 1895-1903; Secretary of the Tariff Commission, 1903-17, and its chairman, 1920-22; member of Parliament, 1912-18; Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1917-18—such is the formal record. Behind this, however, lie his close association with Joseph Chamberlain, Balfour, Bonar Law, and Walter Long; his less intimate contact with Asquith and Lloyd George; his important mission to Canada in 1905 as a special agent of Chamberlain; his membership of the Balfour of Burleigh Commission, and many varied activities. He is thus able to tell the whole story of the movement for tariff reform and imperial preference from the inside, while the extracts from his diary give many interesting and illuminating glimpses of British political leaders from Chamberlain to MacDonald.

At the outset of his professional career as an economist, Professor Hewins became convinced that England must abandon the policy of free trade and adopt a "neo-mercantilist" policy for the sake both of saving British in-

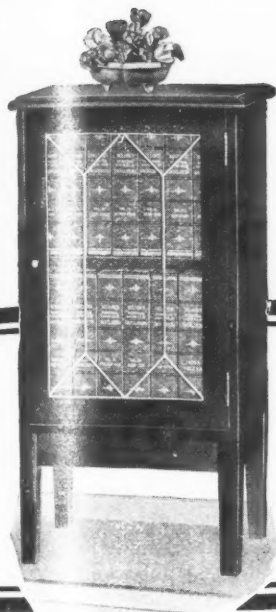
The Christmas Gift That Will Last a Lifetime

"Immense range of topics . . . and everything is up-to-date."

—J. G. Schurman, formerly President, Cornell University.

"My children use it in their school work and find the answers to their questions readily."—G. W. Evans, Consulting Mining Engineer, Seattle, Wash.

"In the daily practice of law . . . we find it of inestimable value."—Geo. I. Haight, Attorney, Chicago.



NELSON'S Perpetual Loose-Leaf Encyclopaedia Can Never Grow Old!

NELSON'S is the Encyclopaedia for a lifetime. NELSON'S is the only great Encyclopaedia embodying the Loose-Leaf reference system which keeps the Encyclopaedia *always* up-to-date. NELSON'S Patented Loose-Leaf Binder and the Renewal Pages issued every six months insure every *Nelson* owner against out-of-date, incomplete, inaccurate information. Nelson's is the only Encyclopaedia offering the *Official 1930 Census Figures*.

The Great AMERICAN Encyclopaedia Edited for the AMERICAN Family

When consulting an Encyclopaedia on such important subjects as Agriculture, Bridges, Building, Engineering, Radio, Railroads, Steel Construction, Tunnels, and the other great industries in which America excels, you want information that is *American*—in fact and viewpoint. Information that puts the emphasis primarily on English railroading, or German engineering, or French building, is not only inadequate, but misleading. It is of first importance that you have in your home and office a source of information that is the work of American authorities, based upon first-hand knowledge of American achievements, conforming with American

principles of education. NELSON'S is the great American Encyclopaedia.

FREE Question and Answer Service

When you are in need of an answer to any question, old or new, you can write to Nelson's Research Bureau and get FREE the latest, dependable information.

33 Reading Courses

A Reader's Guide to Nelson's Loose-Leaf Encyclopaedia is given without extra charge to every subscriber. It outlines thirty-three college-grade courses of reading and study.

Send for Illustrated Booklet

We will be glad to send you an interesting, illustrated, loose-leaf booklet of sample pages and full information. It tells the whole story of Nelson's Loose-Leaf Encyclopaedia; gives you information about our FREE BOOKCASE offer; describes the free question and answer service of Nelson's Research Bureau and the thirty-three reading courses.

MAIL THIS COUPON

FREE
The
Handsome
**BOOK-
CASE**
Shown
Above

Especially made for NELSON'S—richly designed, dust-proof, with leaded-glass single door. Given at no additional cost to readers of Current History who accept the special offer now being made. The coupon brings full particulars.

THOMAS NELSON & SONS,
381 Fourth Avenue, New York.
Originators of the Loose-Leaf Reference System,
Publishers for Over 130 Years.

Please mail me FREE your portfolio of sample pages, full information about the FREE bookcase, and how, by the budget easy-payment plan, I can own Nelson's Perpetual Loose-Leaf Encyclopaedia, with Free membership in Nelson's Research Library Service Bureau for Special Information, and Nelson's Reader's Guide Free. (Cur. His. 12-30)

Name
Address
City..... State.....

dustry and of unifying the empire. His was no half-hearted and academic conviction, and his attitude is well shown by the statement that "I do not remember a single person in the Liberal party ranks who was willing to burn his ancient textbooks and examine the question of imperial organization as a practical question of modern economic organization. This defect in Liberal mentality has not been remedied even now, and the leaders who ought to know better still go on repeating the same cant phrases of Free Trade v. Protection although the arguments have long ago become completely irrelevant."

It was natural, therefore, that, along with such eminent colleagues as Ashley, Mackinder and Cunningham, he should enlist under the crusading banner of Joseph Chamberlain. In fact, he became a sort of expert adviser to Chamberlain, and out of this relationship grew the privately supported Tariff Commission, which surveyed the whole industrial field, including agriculture, in order to have a scientific foundation for the erection of a perfect tariff structure. (Incidentally, it may be said that the commission—at a cost of some \$600,000—made the most complete study of British economic organization ever undertaken, and that its findings were invaluable during the war, or would have been had the Liberals not been afraid to use them because of Hewins's views.) When Chamberlain's invalidism threw the burden on other shoulders, it was Hewins who became the mentor of Balfour and the "chosen disciple" who preached the new evangel.

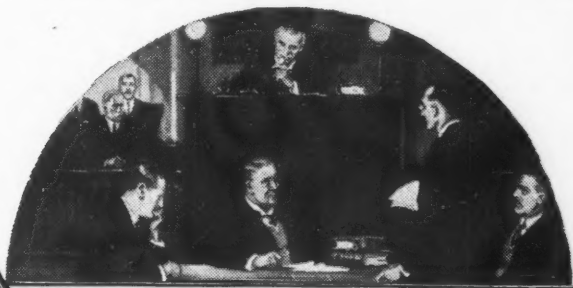
An extract from the diary, to which is added the short but significant sentence, "This was my last interview with Chamberlain," is most enlightening: "As to Chamberlain's own views there is no room for the slightest doubt. He has never been wedded to details, but on the broad issues of his policy he would not give way an inch. He said that if I held to it unflinchingly I should come out on top. I don't think that, but as to my holding to it there can be no doubt. He said he should ignore Bonar Law and his pledges and go straight on. He parted from me with great affection, holding my hand for a long time. He said there was one thing he desired to say to me before I left. He hoped that I would in no circumstances whatever abandon the cause to which I had devoted my life until it was carried. I said, 'Of course not, Mr. Chamberlain. I promise you I will never abandon it.' I then left."

Into what intricacies of political manoeuvre, even intrigue, this promise and these convictions led it is impossible to discuss here. Balfour's resignation from the leadership of the Conservative party was a severe blow to the cause. Doubtless Balfour had other advisers,

but it seems as if Hewins was always asked to coach him whenever he had a tariff or imperial pronouncement to make. And for a short period in 1917, when Balfour was at the Foreign Office, Hewins was his semi-official adviser on commercial treaties and trade arrangements. Finally, when Balfour was called upon to preside at the Imperial Conference of 1926, Hewins was once more called in to jog Balfour's defective memory: "I told him what I thought, but said that if he would read some of his old speeches his memory of the subjects would revive. * * * I had some feeling of disappointment that an Imperial Conference had arrived at which the vital subjects were just those complicated questions of economics, status and diplomacy to which I had devoted so much attention and I could make no proper use of my labors."

This sense of frustration is constantly apparent. Bonar Law was not to be depended upon—a political manipulator rather than a great statesman, and ultimately a pathetic figure, whose one great act was the breaking of the coalition in 1922. Asquith was lazy and procrastinating; when Hewins credited him with "intellectual integrity," Bonar Law "agreed about the intellect but not about the integrity." Lloyd George was slippery, and evaded a man-to-man talk with Hewins, the implication being that he could not resist the tariff arguments of the redoubtable professor. And Stanley Baldwin was quixotic in calling the "unnecessary election" of 1923. The one constant friend, through whom Hewins got his propaganda before the Cabinet, was Walter Long, who eventually made Hewins his Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, but after the election of 1918 Long was transferred to the Admiralty and Hewins was transferred to—outer darkness. Hewins, in fact, was the one man in the ministry who was let out; even a seat in Parliament could not be found for him! And yet there were compensations—abortive as the Balfour of Burleigh Commission was, it did come down on the right side of the tariff fence. The famous Paris Resolutions, laying down the principles upon which an economic war could be based; the decision of the Imperial Conference of 1917 in favor of preference, and the constitutional settlement, or declaration, of the 1928 conference—all these things marked progress.

Space permits no reference to the part played during the war by Hewins and the "Business Committee," which was composed of most of the Conservative members of Parliament. The war was to be won by the adoption of the right economic program, even as in 1912-14 and again in 1918-21 the Irish question was primarily an economic one. In other words, our author is, at least so far as these volumes show, a man of one idea, and his



Sent FREE

It's Almost a Crime Not To Read It

**It has been worth thousands of dollars
to those who have sent for it**

SOME thousands of men, and hundreds of women who sent for this inspiring book are now enjoying the better things of life—things beyond their reach until they obtained the vital knowledge this book outlined for them.

How to make more money is uppermost in the minds of most people. The answer to that problem can be found in "The Law-Trained Man." It is a book devoid of picturesque and fanciful theory—but it is full of cold, hard facts that cannot be ignored by those who wish to succeed.

"The Law-Trained Man" has been published with the sole idea of interesting people in the value of law training. And it will quickly prove to you that legal knowledge is a mighty force for propelling people toward the goal of independence.

Look into the history of leaders in the business world and you will find that the majority of them possess legal training. The law-trained man or woman wins promotion where those lacking such training stand still.

Law as a Profession

What other profession offers such unlimited opportunities for advancement as can be found in the

practice of law? It can lead you to earnings large enough to satisfy any normal ambition and it can lead you to fame and fortune. How far you go in this profession depends on your energy and ambition.

Study Law at Home

For years the Blackstone Institute has been providing spare-time law training to men and women in every kind of business and professional activity. More than 50,000 have enrolled. We are intensely proud of the successes enjoyed by these students and of the many state bar examinations passed by our graduates.

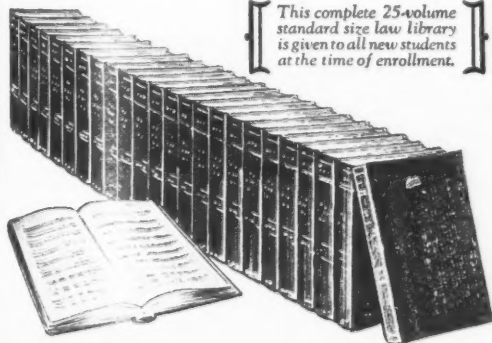
Prepared by Leading Authorities

The Blackstone Law Course is a product of 80 of the most eminent legal authorities in the U. S. Included in the list of authors of instruction material are Justices Taft and Sutherland of the U. S. Supreme Court, the deans of eight leading resident law schools, university law professors, prominent lawyers, and state supreme court judges.

Where Shall We Mail Your Copy of the Book?

You owe it to yourself to get a comprehensive picture of what law training means to you. In "The Law-Trained Man" you will find answered all the questions that come to your mind—also a complete description of the Blackstone Law Course and Service, as well as many stories of real success enjoyed by people who have taken this training. Just fill in and mail the coupon, and the book and full details will be mailed without cost or obligation. Blackstone Institute, Dept. 189, 307 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

**[This complete 25-volume
standard size law library
is given to all new students
at the time of enrollment.]**



BLACKSTONE INSTITUTE

Dept. 189, 307 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Please send me a free copy of the revised edition of "The Law-Trained Man," and details of your law course.

Name.....

Business Position.....

Business Address.....

City..... State.....



constant letters and memoranda must have become somewhat of an old story to his political betters. He even got to the point where he vowed he would not write another memorandum—he wanted action on those he had already written—but he did!

The book contains no sustained argument for the author's views, but the protectionist and the imperialist will find, nevertheless, much grist for his mill. The diary extracts, which make up probably a half of the whole, are fresh, pungent and revealing, and throw new light on the personalities and politics of the last thirty years.

Europe: The World's Banker

By WALTER LANGSAM

Department of History, Columbia University

EUROPE: THE WORLD'S BANKER 1870-1914. By Herbert Feis. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xxiii, 469. \$5.

ONE of the chief effects of the industrial revolution has been the accumulation of surplus capital in the industrialized areas. Particularly outstanding in this respect, in Europe, have been Great Britain, France and Germany. So huge did the available surplus capital in these lands become, that, between 1870 and 1914, Western Europe could well be called the world's banker and by 1914 Great Britain alone had invested in the other parts of the world a sum not far from \$20,000,000,000. The volume, character, place of investment, and diplomatic aspects of this lending and borrowing form the substance of the highly interesting book under review.

Professor Feis discusses first the accumulation of capital, the areas of investment, and the particular character of the lending policies of Great Britain, France and Germany. The British investments, about equally divided within and without the empire, were most strongly attracted by the railway and mining fields, and often were based on the most optimistic gamble that patience would bring its own reward. In the case of France, whose foreign investments in 1914 totaled about \$9,000,000,000, most of the money, representing the hoardings of millions of thrifty peasants as well as of financiers, went to definitely foreign areas, and was calculated to draw interest rather than dividends. Such an arrangement naturally bore more traces of politics than did the British type of lending. "Paris kept its gates open more widely than any other money market to the governments whose treasuries were perpetually empty, whose expenditure was determined autocratically, whose national vitality seemed corrupted and declining, [and who] were still struggling

with the difficulties of the first stages of national existence or development." The motives back of this policy, of course, were to extend French power, encourage political friendships, and assure diplomatic alliances. Naturally, much of the money loaned to governments eventually also served economic purposes, such as the building of railroads in Turkey. German capital, to the extent of \$6,000,000,000, was invested chiefly in government and railway securities, with a growing tendency, as 1914 approached, to flow less to foreign governments, and to be used more for the sake of securing additional "visible advantages" in the form of stimuli to German trade and commerce.

So far as Great Britain was concerned, the relations of finance and government seem to have "displayed those marks which have been considered characteristic of British political life and institutions; a regard for private interest and initiative, a dislike for legislation and regulatory routine, the creation of a code of relationship and action, but withal the easy adaptation of action to circumstance, even in violation of the code." The French situation was entirely different. There governments and banks were in constant communication and understanding. Foreign borrowers, especially foreign authorities, had to explain their purposes to, and satisfy the scruples of, not only the bankers, but the French Government, popular opinion, and the press as well. And so, "when opposition was expected, all possible channels of influence were used." Bribery of the press was not the least objectionable consequence of this condition. German investments pretty generally were part of that "co-ordinated nationality-conscious, vigorous attempt to gain for German commerce, industry, and State a large share of power and advantage in regions where national ambitions clashed. German foreign investment, so integral a part of the German outward thrust, was lost with the failure of that thrust."

By far the longest part of the book consists of a series of studies in lending and borrowing which are designed to help understand the behavior of national creditors and debtors and "to reveal what a wise nation should cultivate or avoid." This section treats of the rupture of Franco-Central European financial relations, of the financing of Russia by France and Great Britain, of the monetary assistance rendered to Italy by the "rival alliances," and of the specific European financial activities in the Balkans, North Africa, Persia, Japan and China. The interlacings of finance and diplomacy are beautifully illustrated throughout this narrative, making one realize very definitely that the pre-war European alignments and crises can be understood only by taking



What about an
Introduction to

Harpers

MAGAZINE

For a
Christmas Present
to Yourself?

BE sure of getting at least one thing you'll really enjoy this Christmas. You have very little control over your friends' selections, but you can insure one bright spot in the serried ranks of cigar cases, bill folders, and guest towels—the gleam of the orange cover of **HARPERS MAGAZINE**.

There are still a few of you—logical readers of *Harpers Magazine*—who do not yet know the authority and brilliance of the magazine which is more widely discussed and quoted than any other among educated people today. Here is an opportunity to discover what the leaders of contemporary thought have to say on all manner of subjects—and you pay only half price. Dr. Sockman writing on the morals of tomorrow; James Truslow Adams discussing “Prosperity vs. Liberty” and “The Tempo of American Life”; Bernard de Voto on “What Shall We Tell the Children About God”; a new group of love sonnets by Edna St. Vincent Millay—these and so many other features of extraordinary interest are yours for the small sum of *only one dollar*.

6 HARPERS MAGAZINE MONTHS for ONLY \$1.00

(A special introductory offer to new readers)

HARPERS MAGAZINE, 49 East 33rd St., New York, N. Y.

Please send **HARPERS MAGAZINE** for six months at the special introductory rate of one dollar to new readers to the following names. I am enclosing \$.....

Name

Name

Address

Address

account of the existing borrowing-lending relationships.

The account given by Professor Feis is strictly factual throughout, with no attempt at moralizing, but the story does prove, as the author points out, that "a capital-lending country should possess a policy, or at least a carefully defined attitude, toward this process of foreign investment and the situations it creates."

The Real War

By WAYNE E. STEVENS

Professor of History, Dartmouth College

THE REAL WAR: 1914-1918. By Captain B. H. Liddell Hart. With maps. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1930. Pp. 508.

THE title which has been given to Captain Hart's volume seems to claim for it a more definitive character than the book really possesses, or than any book on this subject can possess at the present time. It will be long before any one can write the history of the "real war," but still there is something to be gained by trying. Though these pages do not contain the last word on the subject of the World War, they do present a most interesting version of it. Distinctly reminiscent of his earlier work, *Reputations: Ten Years After*, a series of critical sketches of various leaders in the struggle, Captain Hart's new volume contains a comprehensive and straightforward summary of military and naval campaigns in almost all theatres. Its chief interests consists in the author's analysis of certain selected operations, many of which have already been made the subject of controversy. He has brought to bear upon his task a vast amount of reading and research among the innumerable memoirs and personal narratives produced by the war, and official histories and original documents have by no means been neglected. But most important of all, he has contributed his own critical attitude of mind.

Extremely interesting are the author's comments and judgments in regard to the leaders of the war. He is somewhat patronizing toward Joffre and would give to Gallieni much of the credit for the victory of the Marne in 1914. He admires Pétain, but appears to be somewhat wearied by Foch's constant reiteration of the exclamation "*Attaquez!*" Sir John French comes in for severe criticism at times, while the treatment accorded Haig is more or less neutral. Allenby receives high praise. Hindenburg appears as a figurehead; and not even Ludendorff, but Colonel Hoffmann, is the real hero of the campaign in East Prussia in 1914. Of the latter, Captain Hart says that he perhaps approached nearer to military

genius than any General of the war. Whether they are right or not, these judgments are often unconventional and likely to be provocative, and for that reason worth while. There are many military reputations which future historians must re-examine and there are doubtless many legends to be dispelled.

Some of the most interesting chapters in the volume deal with the invention and exploitation of new tactical weapons, such as poison gas and the tank. As regards gas, the author is surprisingly charitable toward the Germans, declaring that "it was novel and therefore labeled an atrocity by a world which condones abuses but detests innovations." The tank he aptly characterizes as a combination of fire, power, movement and protection—the answer to the machine gun and barbed wire. He repeatedly stresses the importance of surprise, both tactical and strategic, and criticizes leaders for their neglect of this principle. In an excellent chapter entitled "The Opposing Forces and Plans" he properly makes a good deal of the initial German superiority in howitzers, machine guns and railways.

It is natural that a relatively large portion of the book should be devoted to those operations in which the British forces played an important part. The Dardanelles campaign and the battle of Jutland are described at length. Those who were responsible for the failure of the former are severely handled. The greatest naval engagement of the war Captain Hart calls the "Battle of Blind Man's Buff," and declares that its worst fault was "that it was ever fought." There are several admirable chapters on the great battles of 1918 on the Western Front. The failure of the Germans in their final drives he attributes in part to the fact that they stressed tactics too much and strategy too little. They never pushed an attack home to its strategical objective. In this connection there occurs one of the most telling generalizations contained in the entire volume: "It is well to remember that the problem of maintaining continuity of advance was never solved in the World War." In his numerous critical judgments on individual campaigns the reader may feel quite certain that Captain Hart cannot always be right, but again, whether right or wrong, his views are stimulating.

There is certainly no attempt on the part of the author to flatter his American public by any overpraise of the achievements of the American Expeditionary Forces. The history of our participation in the war occupies a relatively small part of the book, and the reader who takes a broad view of the matter must admit, in all fairness, that the author is probably not far wrong in his emphasis. He points out what he believes to have been faults in American leadership, defects in training and lack of experience as calmly and impartially

as though he were dealing with his own countrymen, whom he certainly shows no disposition to handle with gloves. The American effort in the Meuse-Argonne he finds had very little directly to do with Germany's final debacle. This would seem a debatable point.

It should be added that this is primarily a history of military and naval operations, the whole matter of supply and "the war behind the front" receiving very little attention. Although, as has been suggested, Captain Hart may not have given us the "real war," he has given us a new version of it, and a most interesting one. No careful reader need allow himself to be misled by any of the numerous expressions of opinion, and he will almost certainly be stimulated to thought by them.

The War Guilt Thesis

By LLOYD WENDELL ESHLEMAN

A REFUTATION OF THE WAR GUILT THESIS. By Alfred von Wegerer. Pp. xxxi+386. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. \$3.

IN signing the Versailles Treaty Germany had to acknowledge *sole guilt* for causing the war. To this thesis she has consistently and continually objected. After revisionist successes in England, her objections gained favor among able American historians, so that a struggle has since been waged against wartime propaganda and against maintaining the treaty accusations.

Utilizing the vast amount of documents and studies recently brought to light, von Wegerer begins by depicting the origin and scope of the "War Guilt Thesis." He shows how Germany's request that a neutral commission on war responsibility be appointed was denied by Great Britain, thus violating the fundamental and scientific principle of *audiatore et altera pars*, upon which all verdicts are based. Next, he groups into eleven classes the official and unofficial documents that formed the basis of the Allied Commission's "report" on war guilt, and seeks to prove that they are inconclusive, incomplete, and in part unauthentic, paraphrased, forged, or perhaps even apocryphal. Herr von Wegerer then deals with the indictment and verdict of the war-guilt thesis in regard to Germany and Austria, classing the material under twenty-four general groups and considering the individual sentences and clauses of each group in turn. From this he turns to an attack on the war-guilt thesis in the treaty itself, to show that "it is absurd to establish authorship of a war by a chronological sequence of the so-called declarations of war," and to prove that "it was the view of the allied and associated powers that Germany's moral responsibility for the



How Did Christmas Come to Be Called Yuletide?

The history of the word is dimmed a little by the mists of time. But we know that its Medieval English form was *yol*, from still older Anglo-Saxon *geol*, and that it is akin to Icelandic *jol*, the midwinter feast (going back to heathen times). This word *jol* may also be the ancestor of *jolly*. So "Yuletide" from the beginning, perhaps, meant "a jolly time", as it still does, although now in its special Christmas significance.

This is but one example of the many thousands of fascinating stories about the origin of English words which you will find in

WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY

The "Supreme Authority"

A number of them have been presented in a handsome illustrated booklet which we will be glad to send you free on request.

Word histories not only make fascinating stories to read, but offer the background understanding that is essential to effective use of words in writing or speaking.

The Merriam-Webster gives you the whole word power of the English language. In its 2,700 pages are 452,000 entries including thousands of new words; 12,000 biographical entries; 32,000 geographical subjects; 100 valuable tables; over 6,000 illustrations.

The Perfect Gift

—offering a lifetime of usefulness to every member of the family.

Send for Free Booklet

containing a number of fascinating word stories together with full information about the Merriam-Webster, and convincing testimony that it is the "Supreme Authority".

G. & C. MERRIAM CO.
Springfield, Mass.

See It At Your Bookstore



outbreak of the war constituted the basis of reparations." Finally, in an analysis of the ultimatum and covering note, which supplemented the "report" as a reply to the German "professors' memorandum," he delves into more remote and abstract causes.

Russia's Five-Year Plan

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN OF THE SOVIET UNION. A political interpretation. By G. T. Grinko. New York: International Publishers, 1930. \$3.50.

ECONOMIC TRENDS IN SOVIET RUSSIA. By A. Yugoff. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930.

THE two books in which Mr. Grinko and Mr. Yugoff discuss the nature and development of the Russian Five-Year Plan set out in unusually sharp relief the pros and cons of that great experiment. Mr. Grinko, vice chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Republic, was one of the authors of the report in which the original plan was submitted, and previous to that time had held for a number of years important government posts in the Ukraine. His book, brought down to date in some of its statistics by editorial footnotes, is a stout defense of the plan against Russian and foreign critics both as to the underlying principles of the plan and the progress that has been made under it.

The book is by no means a mere political screed, however. Mr. Grinko works hard for his readers, and his pages are filled with statistical exhibits and comparisons, detailed accounts of what has been accomplished, and evaluations of the difficulties and shortcomings of the undertaking thus far. Following a general exposition of the Soviet scheme of rehabilitation and economic development, he examines the methods used and the advances registered in industry, wages and hours of labor, agriculture and village organization, the peasant problem, transportation, housing and city planning, the questions of a supply of skilled personnel and the cultural uplift of the masses, and the problem of economic equilibrium in labor, production and consumption during the five-year period.

A good deal of what Mr. Grinko has to say is concerned, naturally, with what is expected to happen rather than with what has been accomplished, since the plan has still three years to run. Looking particularly at the results of the first year's operations, however, he attributes the excess of achievement over what was expected to the fact that the computations of the government were made "with the greatest caution" and even with "a little too much" of conservatism; that the "toiling masses" have been unexpectedly eager to se-

cure positive results; that the policy of continuous production has made possible a "superior utilization" of industrial capital and a greater reduction in production costs, and that counter-revolutionary sabotage in some branches of industry has been exposed and got rid of. Taken as a whole, the plan seems to him to represent a rapid and decisive advance toward socialism, and in no sense a return to capitalism. It is, indeed, the "twilight of capitalism" that he sees as he looks elsewhere in Europe.

Mr. Yugoff, on the other hand, takes issue with the plan at almost every point, and, like Mr. Grinko, marshals statistics, argument, prophecy and recrimination to prove his case. He denies that Russian statistics are reliable, arraigns the plan as an artificial program imposed by force upon a country which was not ripe for such transformations as it proposed, and stresses the modifications which the plan itself has undergone as evidence of its inherent weakness. The first two years seem to him to have landed the scheme in a "blind alley," and the lack of capital stands as an "insuperable obstacle" to the speeding up of industrialization. The special privileges reserved for collective or State farms have intensified peasant discontent, and the policy of "alluring" foreign capital through privileged concessions while prohibiting the accumulation of capital at home is not only unfavorable to industrialization but is likely to provide an unsatisfactory foundation for the development of economic relations with other countries. Public estimates of expenditure, he points out, are not discussed as they are in parliamentary governments, State expenditures are not properly audited, and it is "very difficult to ascertain what is really done with public funds." Summing up the situation, Mr. Yugoff concludes that while the means of production have been nationalized, they have not been socialized, and that democratic control of industry does not exist.

Daniel Webster

By E. FRANCIS BROWN

DANIEL WEBSTER. By Claude Moore Fuess. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1930. Two volumes. Pp. x, 863. \$10.

VISITORS to the Hall of Fame in New York City will find there the bust of Daniel Webster. Probably being somewhat vague about Webster's place in history, they will be further mystified to learn that in the first selection of these immortals, he received the same number of votes as Lincoln. But to a generation which is none too certain of its history, the name Webster conjures up something about a dictionary or a rather mythical conversational episode called the

"Reply to Hayne." Since 1900, when Webster was elected to the Hall of Fame, the world has moved a long way and today it is out of tune with him who once was the idol of the American people. Possibly this new biography of Daniel Webster will help to reinterpret "Black Dan" and to restore him to his deserved place in history.

Somehow the life of Webster symbolizes the social democracy of an America that is gone. For he was born in 1782, the fourth child in a chronically impoverished family struggling for existence in the rough wilds of Southern New Hampshire. There was no indication that the child would ever be much more than at best a local potentate. Yet nature has its "sports," and Webster was one of these. A strong mind in a weak body prevented his being a farmer and pointed toward the need for education. His own will and the self-sacrificing devotion of his father did the rest until in 1801 Webster found himself a Bachelor of Arts from Dartmouth College. The study of law which followed prepared him for a career that led directly to the leadership of the American bar.

Some of Fuess's most delightful passages are those concerning the background of Webster's early life—the New Hampshire scene when the eighteenth century was sliding into the nineteenth and when around the Webster fireside men were arguing for sound Federalist principles, principles which Daniel never forgot; Portsmouth, the old provincial capital—when Webster was practicing law there the "old town by the sea" was in its prime—a prosperous, aristocratic and cultured community; then Boston, the metropolis of New England, and in the '20s and '30s perhaps more nearly the "Athens of America" than it has ever been since. These chapters are real contributions to social history.

The life of Webster runs in parallel channels, for he was lawyer and politician, statesman and country squire, but in all of them the current was the same—his abiding conservatism. Before the Supreme Court his arguments were many times concerned with the interpretation of the Constitution in the direction of strong government and in this position he saw eye to eye with John Marshall. Many will find in Fuess's oversimplified account of the Dartmouth College case their first clear understanding of that justly famous cause which Webster said would be "known to our children's children." Perhaps just as important was his pleading in the case of Gibbons v. Ogden; his argument released "every creek and river, lake, bay and harbor in our country from the interference of monopolies."

But to most people, if they think of him at all, Webster is the great orator, the greatest



FRANCIS DANA

A PURITAN DIPLOMAT AT THE COURT OF CATHERINE THE GREAT

By WILLIAM PENN CRESSON

Author of *Diplomatic Portraits*

DR. CRESSON, formerly Secretary of the American Embassy in Russia, has discovered in the unpublished Dana papers a veritable mine of forgotten diplomatic lore. Dana's long confidential correspondence with John Adams (largely published for the first time) enables us to share with him in a strange adventure wherein he was called upon to cross swords with some of the ablest diplomatists of Europe. It provides a bit of genuine treasure for the lovers of American biography. Illustrated with interesting contemporary prints. \$5.00

LINCOLN MACVEAGH
THE DIAL PRESS—NEW YORK

AT LAST

*a few men now
reveal a new form
of mental conquest*

A Single Thought May
Change Your Lot in Life!

A few men, composing the Supreme Council of the Rosicrucian fraternity, have issued a public presentation of the very efficient means used by the Rosicrucians throughout the world to change mental character and attain a mastership over the common and extraordinary obstacles of life.

Book Loaned to You

This book, known as the "Light of Egypt," will be loaned without obligation to those who are seeking to become more successful and happy in their lives. To those who write a letter (not a postcard) requesting it, the book will be mailed postpaid.

LIBRARIAN M. B. D.
AMORC LIBRARY, San Jose, California

Continued on Page XVII

CURRENT HISTORY

Contents for December 1930

PART I—SPECIAL ARTICLES:

DOES THE WORLD WANT PEACE?.....	David Jayne Hill	321
BRITAIN'S FATE AS AN INDUSTRIAL POWER.....	Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker	326
MORALS AND THE CHURCH.....	Bishop Charles Fiske	332
CLEMENCEAU: A DESPOT IN A DEMOCRACY.....	Pertinax (André Géraud)	339
THE DAILY STRUGGLE IN SOVIET RUSSIA.....	Alzada Comstock	346
THE RULERS OF AMERICA.....	Norman S. B. Gras	351
DOES THE DEATH PENALTY CURB CRIME?		
I.....	Judge Marcus A. Kavanagh	356
II.....	Warden Lewis A. Lawes	361
EUROPE'S DOLE-FED MILLIONS.....	C. DeLisle Burns	367
BRAZIL: A LAND OF CONTRASTS.....	Edward Tomlinson	371
THE THEATRE IN AMERICAN LIFE.....	Thomas H. Dickinson	375
A NEW CRISIS IN ZIONISM:		
I.....	Israel Cohen	379
II.....	Albert Howe Lybyer	385
DUAL CITIZENSHIP AS AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM.....	Joseph Conrad Fehr	389
THE PASSING OF THE CHURCH COLLEGE.....	Andrew D. Harmon	392
ABUSES OF RADIO BROADCASTING.....	Henry Volkening	396
CONFLICTING IDEALS OF PAN-AMERICANISM.....	J. Lloyd Mecham	401
THE DRAMA OF RUBBER.....	George T. Renner	405
THE NEW SPIRIT OF JAPAN.....	Burton Crane	410
IS LENIN AMONG THE PROPHETS?.....	Albert Bushnell Hart	415
RECENT SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS.....	Watson Davis	419

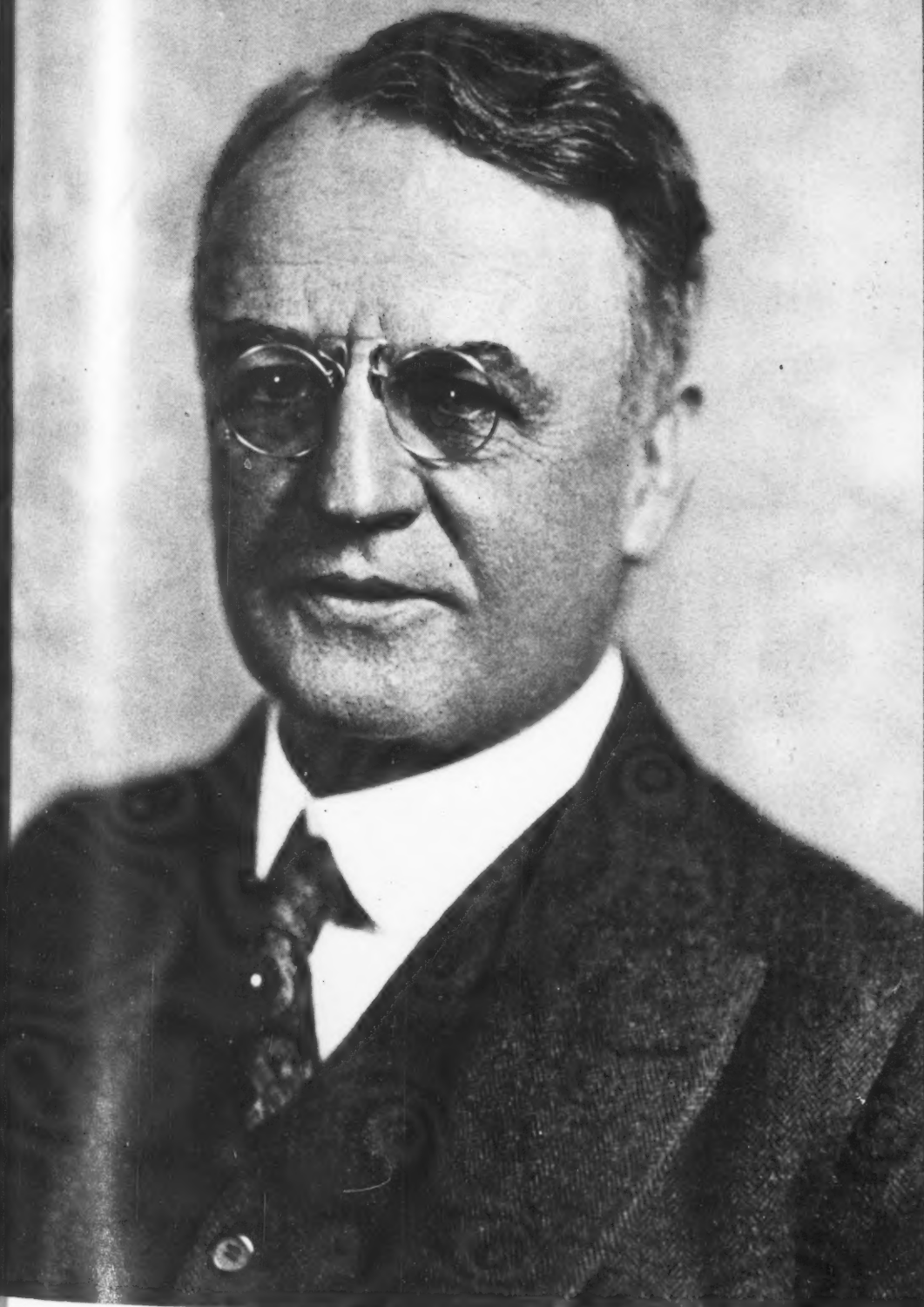
PART II—A MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY..... 427-480

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.....	James T. Gerould	Princeton University	THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES.....	Sidney B. Fay	Harvard University
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.....	Philip C. Nash	Director, the League of Nations Association	ITALY, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.....	Eloise Ellery	Vassar College
THE UNITED STATES.....	D. E. Wolf	University of Texas	EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS.....	F. A. Ogg	University of Wisconsin
MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA.....	C. W. Hackett	University of Texas	NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE.....	J. H. Wuorinen	Columbia University
SOUTH AMERICA.....	Henry G. Doyle	George Washington University	THE SOVIET UNION.....	Edgar S. Furniss	Yale University
THE BRITISH EMPIRE.....	Preston W. Slosson	University of Michigan	THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST.....	Albert H. Lybyer	University of Illinois
FRANCE AND BELGIUM.....	Othon G. Guerlac	Cornell University	THE FAR EAST.....	Harold S. Quigley	University of Minnesota

BOOKS OF THE MONTH—CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS—TO AND FROM OUR READERS— WORLD FINANCE

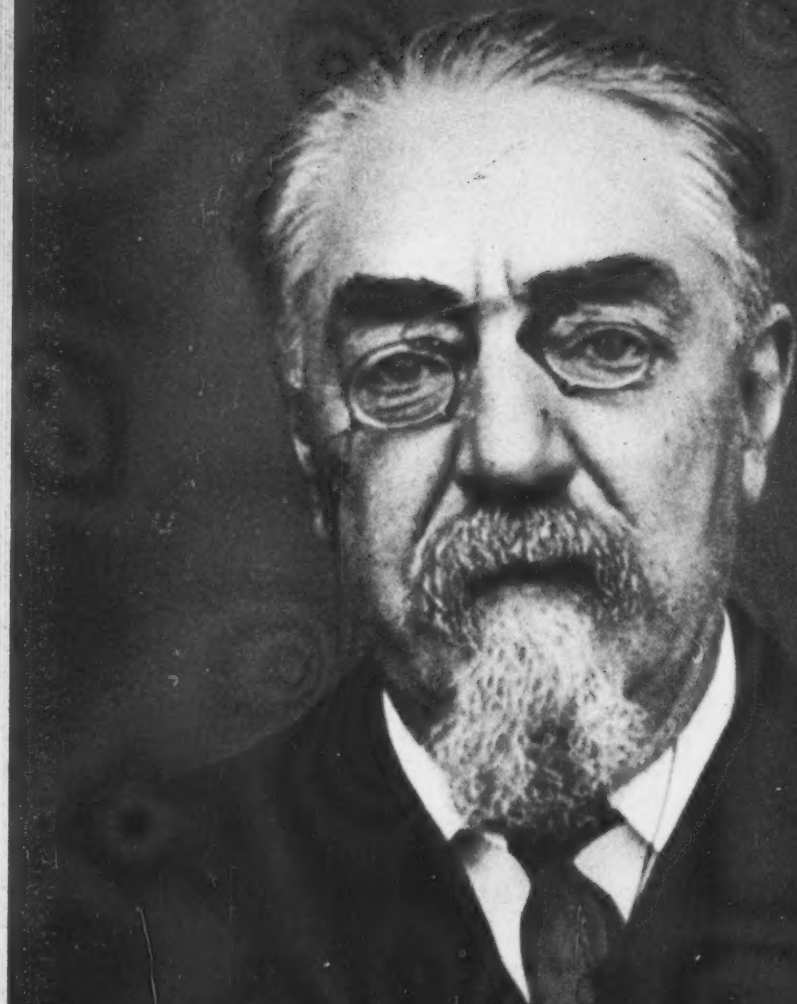
[CONTENTS COPYRIGHTED 1930]

ill 321
er 326
ke 332
l) 339
ck 346
as 351
gh 356
es 361
ns 367
on 371
on 375
en 379
er 385
r 389
on 392
g 396
m 401
er 405
e 410
rt 415
is 419
27-480
B. Fay
rsity
Ellery
llege
A. Ogg
onsin
orinen
rsity
urnias
rsity
Lybyer
nois
utgley
sota
ERS-



DWIGHT W. MORROW
Elected United States Senator from New Jersey

New York Times Studio



LORD PASSFIELD
British Colonial Secretary, who issued the recent White Paper on the Palestine
Mandate



DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN

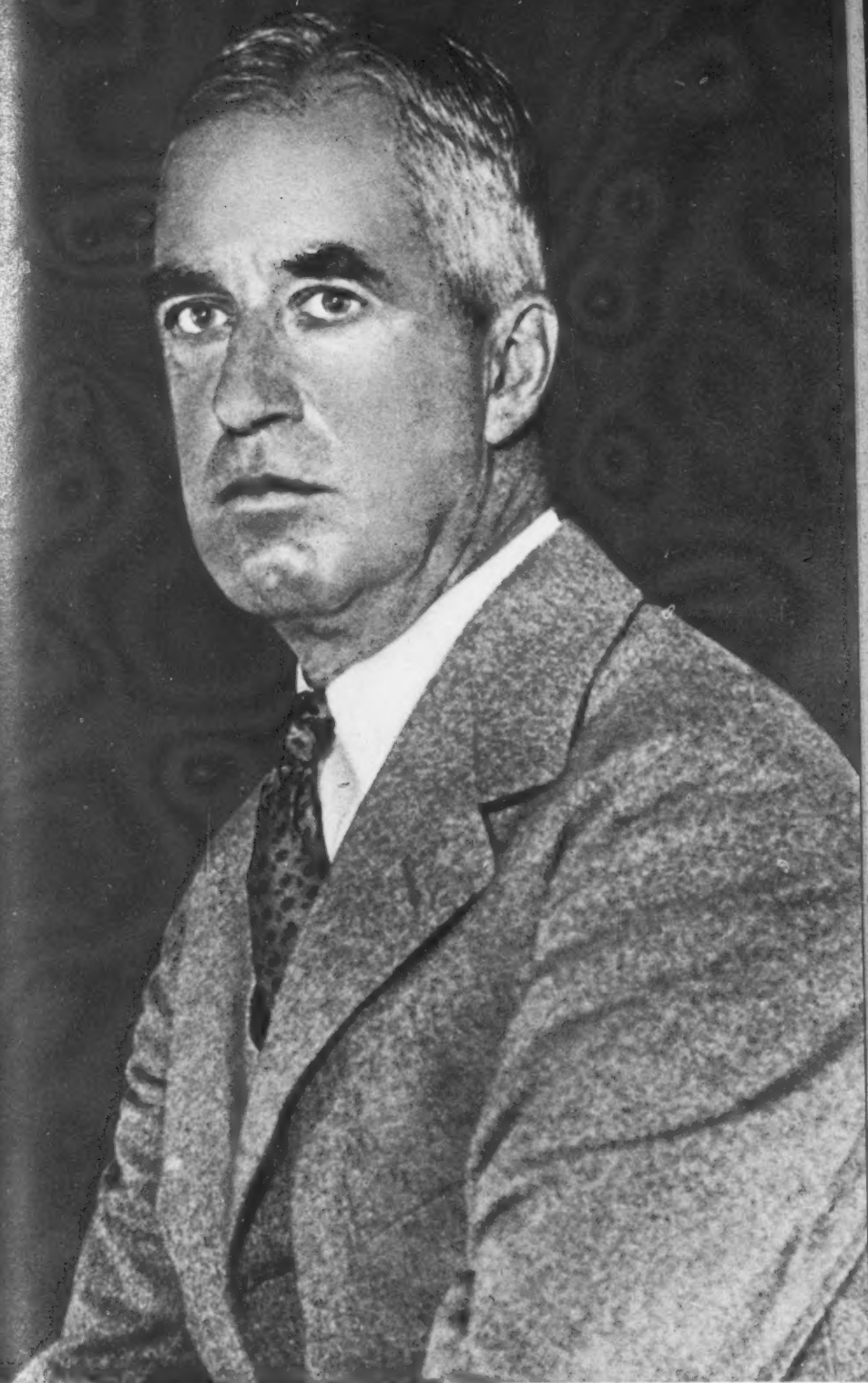
President of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, who resigned both these positions in protest against the British Government's new policy in Palestine

Keystone



SINCLAIR LEWIS
Awarded the 1930 Nobel Prize for literature

Underwood & Underwood



COLONEL ARTHUR WOODS

Appointed by President Hoover to take charge of unemployment relief

P. & A.



GEORGE MIRONESCU
The new Rumanian Premier



DR. GETULIO VARGAS
Provisional President of Brazil

Acme



HUGH S. GIBSON
Head of the United States delegation to the meeting of the League Preparatory
Disarmament Commission

Underwood

CURRENT HISTORY

Volume XXXIII

DECEMBER, 1930

Number 3

Does the World Want Peace?

By DAVID JAYNE HILL

Former American Ambassador to Germany

THE high-water mark of international agreement was reached when, in 1929, the Paris Pact was signed by forty-five sovereign nations, and afterward adhered to by others, pledging themselves to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and to resort to pacific means for the settlement of international disputes.

This solemn voluntary renunciation was greeted on the one hand with deep satisfaction as affording evidence of a radical change in public opinion, and on the other cynical scepticism regarding the future observance of these engagements.

Obviously the only decisive means of determining which of these opinions is finally to prevail is to be found in the test of time. For this it may be necessary to wait many years, but it

is not without interest to inquire what answer, if any, the year 1930 has to contribute to this question.

Although the absence of serious disregard of these obligations of the Pact of Paris by the responsible signatories during this short period does not justify the conclusion that international armed conflicts have been permanently abolished by this agreement, neither does the fact that disarmament has not been diminished, and that we are still in the presence of an armed peace, compel us to abandon the hope that this compact may mark the beginning of a new era in international relations.

Defensive armament is not, in itself, a cause of war. It is a necessary means of protection against hostile designs so long as these may still exist. Nor would total disarmament

by any nation prove a preventive of war. On the contrary, it might invite and would encourage attack. It is in disproportionate armament that the real danger lies, for this is provocative and even menacing.

For this reason, as the recent discussion of the subject in the assembly of the League of Nations shows, too much insistence on the part of one group of nations upon the disarming of other nations leads to estrangement. It does not promote mutual confidence and understanding for a great power, itself insisting upon superiority in some form of domination, to press upon other nations, great or small, unacceptable sacrifices of defensive power.

It is by according to each nation the right to determine for itself what its defense may require, and by endeavoring to reach agreements when possible upon the measure of armed force which each is freely willing to accept, that peace is to be most securely established. It was only upon this principle that the recent London naval conference was able to reach any conclusion other than a continuation of competitive building, and it was the failure on the part of other sea powers to accept the principle of voluntary agreement which is accountable for unknown quantities in the adjustment of legitimate defensive sea power, and introduces a disturbing element into the problem of coordinating naval defense.

What affects even more deeply the issues of war and peace than the measure of armed force possessed by each nation is the different conceptions which the nations entertain of the nature and purpose of their national existence.

The World War, when its causes are properly analyzed, is seen to have resulted far more from conflicting ideas regarding the nature and functions of the State than from any specific national interests that were imperilled. As evidence of this we have before us both the political changes which re-

sulted from the war and the present economic condition of the participants in it. The imperial conception of the State as an agency for conquest and exploitation was in reality the chief issue of the war, and it is now apparent that the economic interests of all the nations were badly served by a conflict which wasted the world's resources and rendered every participant in the war to some degree a victim of it.

The most fundamental question, therefore, that can be asked regarding international peace is, What, in the last analysis, do the nations in general think is the real purpose of the National State? Is it territorial expansion, the exploitation of defenseless peoples, commercial advantage derived from injury to other nations?

So long as these policies are regarded as purposes of the National State, armed force will be necessary not only for defense, but for the effective prosecution of these adventures. In proportion as these policies continue to be considered as legitimate ends of national existence, treaties will continue to be treated as "scraps of paper," and war will be the necessary instrument of national policies.

Historically, in its origin the State was, no doubt, a predatory as well as a defensive institution. Its germ was the warlike tribe. Its success depended upon the valor of its leaders, who claimed and were accorded unlimited authority.

It is beside the purpose of this article to trace the history of the State. Culminating eventually in absolutism, the sovereign became clothed with unrestricted authority, and "Sovereignty" came to be understood as "unlimited power."

When this attribute passed from a personal ruler to the people the definition was not outwardly changed. But the essence of what we still call "Sovereignty" was vitally modified by the very process which produced the transfer of what had been called a "divine right" to men in general,

thus establishing the recognition of "human rights."

As a result of this transfer of authority the Modern State, in its conception at least, was profoundly affected. This authority, founded on human rights in general and the protection of them in certain groups of human beings in particular, accepted responsibility for the exercise of power; and thus governments, in theory, became the agents of the State as a legal personality.

When we survey the condition of the nations in 1930 what do we find? We discover that the traditional conception of the State as preeminently "power" still persists. The nations are habitually referred to as "the powers," great and small, and their importance is determined by their wealth, their populations and the strength of their armies and navies. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that in their "conferences" the status of the nations is fixed by their relative degree of "power," and that this determines the attitude of their representatives in their negotiations. If concessions are made, it is in exchange for some superior or at least equivalent advantage.

In matters of a strictly business nature this is not objectionable. "To buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market," is a well accredited maxim of the commercial world, and when acting as the agent or trustee of great interests a diplomatist should be governed by the ethics of business.

But in the transactions of States, when conceived of as the guardians of human rights, there is a responsibility that reaches beyond the sphere of private business. This wider responsibility has been elsewhere discussed in detail by the present writer and need not be dwelt upon here. The responsibility of a Sovereign State is derived not only from the magnitude of the matters in interest but especially from the nature of the National State itself as a political and moral organism, and it is so recognized by all in-

formed jurists. This is the quality in which the modern civilized State differs from the tribal organization and the imperial conception. It is a product of human evolution which contains the promise and the potency of a higher development and a better world.

It is not difficult to point out what it is that differentiates the National State from a private individual seeking his own material interest. For the rights of the citizen there is a protector in the National State, which is instituted to regulate private conduct according to law. For the National State itself no such protector exists, unless a Superstate is created. Furthermore, the National State as a repository of sovereign power, being essentially a juridical creation as distinguished from a predatory institution, holds and should exercise its powers as an institution of equity for the protection of rights, as a legal creation it is subject to the laws of its own being.

It is anomalous, therefore, that the National State should itself act unjustly, and it is on its part a delinquency if it permits itself to violate the principles which differentiate it as a State from arbitrary power.

The most important consideration to be noted in an effort to determine the value of the pledges contained in the Pact of Paris is not so much the existence of defensive national armament, which will for economical reasons be diminished when security is firmly established by mutual understandings, as the conception which the nations actually entertain of the essence and functions of the National State.

When we examine critically the actual mental attitude of the nations in 1930, and ask the question, What do the people composing them expect of their governments? we cannot escape some distrust of the ability of several of them to conduct themselves in such a manner as to avoid armed conflict.

The year has been characterized by three phenomena that are extremely disconcerting to those who hope for and desire the peace of the world.

The first is the multiplication of dictatorships apparently made necessary by the failure of democracy in several important nations to secure public order.

The second is the unusual crop of revolutions in some of the best established republics of the Latin-American States.

The third is the widespread unrest and growth of subversive groups defying public authority and the rapid development of large organized minorities even in so highly cultured a State as Germany disclosed in the September elections by the Hitlerite movement and its avowed policies.

It would be an ungrateful task to enter into details regarding these contemporary manifestations of disunity and collapse, and it would be an inexcusable error to exaggerate them. Our interest in them from the international point of view, however, cannot be denied and their importance with regard to the fulfillment of national pledges must not be overlooked. In truth, the issues of peace and war are interlocked with the weakness quite as much as with the strength of the nations.

The situation of the world in 1930 brings home to us with great force the conviction that the problem of peace involves the character, the unity and the stability of the National States as the foundation of our expectations as to the future of international events and relations. The problem of the hour is not so much how to organize the nations as it is how to sustain the honor and the responsibility of the National States as the essential constituents of the international structure.

During the past thirty years we have hoped for great results from various forms of international organization, and the theorists of peace have been prolific in proposing them. No

existing international organization affords a solution of the real problem, which is to find assurance that the signatories of treaties will keep their promises.

Whether they will or not keep their pledges depends but slightly upon the mechanism of any international organization, whether it be a "league," a "congress" or a "conference." Nor does it depend primarily upon either the strength or the weakness of nations. It depends ultimately upon their unity and continuity as self-regulating National States and upon the manner in which they envisage the purposes of government and its responsibility as a member of the Society of States. It is not to mechanism, either within the State or in its relation to other States, that we must look for international peace. It is in the human element, as embodied in the traditions, the interests, the cultural condition and the ideals of the nations that we must place our faith.

When we survey the entire movement for international peace as expressed in official acts, we find that every advance thus far made has resulted from a growth of juridical mindedness on the part of the National States as individuals, and that international organizations have not produced but have only in part registered this growth.

The first official attempt to create an international organization for peace, The Hague Conference of 1899, totally failed to accomplish disarmament, which was its purpose, and succeeded only in restating the laws of war and in creating the machinery for the voluntary arbitration of international disputes.

The Second Hague Conference, in 1907, confirmed the results of the first conference and registered a general desire for an international tribunal of justice, but was not able to obtain an agreement of the National States regarding the choice of judges.

A fourth conference would probably have succeeded in establishing such a

tribunal, but the World War prevented its occurrence.

The League of Nations, in 1919, incidentally provided, in Article XIV of the covenant, for the eventual creation of a Permanent Court of International Justice, but the primary object of the League was the formation of a political and military alliance for the execution of the Treaty of Versailles, of which the covenant of the League is a part, and the preservation of the international status quo produced by the results of the war.

Twenty years of successive endeavors to organize peace resulted in no higher achievement than the formation of the League of Nations; which, instead of eliminating war, consecrated it by making it the duty of every member of the League to be at war with every violator of the engagements of the covenant, thus making it in effect a military alliance in the alleged interests of peace (Article XVI).

A review of the whole period shows that up to the time of this writing every positive step toward the limitation of armament and the renunciation of war as a national policy has been taken by the National States themselves independently of any form of international organization.

In making war a penalty for the initiation of war the League of Nations blocked its own progress toward a total commitment to peace. It has been unable to carry into execution its duty to limit armament for the

reason that without armament it would be unable to penalize the offender.

But the obstacle to disarmament is more deeply grounded than the inability of disarmed nations to control one another's actions. There is still a necessity, if there are yet to be wars, to continue armed alliances. There is an interest not only in national armament but in the armed strength of allies, and the League is itself a military alliance.

Hence the difficulty for the League of Nations in attempting to harmonize the covenant with the Pact of Paris, which pledges its signatories to the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

When the two documents are compared, it immediately becomes evident that war is not only an instrument of the League's policy of penalization, but incidentally every signatory of the covenant is pledged to join in execution of that policy, if necessary, by engaging in war.

Since nearly every member of the League of Nations is also a signatory of the Pact of Paris, it would appear as if the later pledge had canceled the earlier. This construction, however, has not yet been placed upon these conflicting engagements by the action of the League as an organization. Until this issue is decided, the world will be left in doubt with regard to the effectiveness of the Pact of Paris and the League must share the responsibility for this result.

Britain's Fate as an Industrial Power

By THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER
Professor of History, Princeton University

THE year 1930, if plans of certain powerful groups both in Great Britain and in the Dominions materialize, may be one of the most momentous in the history of the British Empire. These groups propose that the policy of free trade with all the world, the very cornerstone of the British industrial structure, be discarded in favor of a system of closer trade relations between mother country and colonies, fostered by tariff walls against competition from without. The lead has been taken in England by two great newspaper owners, Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere. "Let us reserve the British market for colonial products," they say, "for Canadian wheat, or the wool of New Zealand, or the copper of the Union of South Africa, in return for preferential treatment for our manufactured goods in the Dominions."

Singularly little attention has been paid to the fact that this proposal is as old as the British Empire itself. In fact, it means a return to the principles upon which the empire was founded 350 years ago, when economic conditions in England were critical. The forests, in those days a natural resource of the first importance, had been so depleted as to shake the foundations of industrial life. One could not build ships without timber, and shipping was vital to the nation's prosperity; the great woollen industry required potash, but potash could be

produced only from wood; iron and copper, although every year becoming more essential, were becoming scarcer because of the lack of wood for smelting. In this extremity recourse was had to foreign imports. Timber, naval stores, potash, iron could be had from the Baltic, and a brisk trade sprang up with this region. But the voyage was long; the northern ports were often blocked by ice; prices were high and the wars of Russia, Sweden, Poland and Denmark interfered.

England suffered in consequence. Shipbuilding sank to a low ebb; the woollen exports declined; unemployment became a terrible evil. Thousands of "sturdy beggars" tramped the roads; the jails were filled with thieves; a large proportion of the population in every county was dependent upon public charity. Since industry was not sufficiently productive to provide a "living wage" for all, idleness, suffering and crime became inevitable.

England turned to colonial expansion for relief. Hakluyt, Captain Christopher Carleill and others equally far-sighted pointed the way. "Across the Atlantic, on the shores of North America, there are forests vast enough to supply England's every need," they said. "Why not free ourselves from dependence on the Baltic, by founding colonies in that region? Let us pour our surplus population into a new Britain, there to find employment in

producing the commodities old Britain so greatly needs. Not only will this relieve congestion here, but it will stimulate our waning industries, build up a colonial market and give employment to our shipping." It was these pleadings, backed by the hard times of later Elizabethan days, that turned the British mind toward colonial expansion, and led directly to the founding of Jamestown and Plymouth.

The immediate effects were disappointing. True, the settlers on the James made an earnest effort to produce the commodities desired by England, some burning potash, others making pitch and tar, others smelting iron, and still others setting up a glass furnace. But the experiment failed, for labor was too dear, the distance from Europe too great. In the end, the Virginians abandoned their infant industries to devote themselves to the one product for which their soil was so well suited as to give them practically a natural monopoly—tobacco. Other new colonies proved equally incapable of freeing England from dependence on the Baltic trade; the British West Indies produced only sugar and molasses, and New England concentrated on commerce, shipbuilding, fishing and agriculture.

Although colonial expansion failed to bring to England precisely the commodities she desired, the principles enunciated by its early advocates became the cornerstone of the empire. Accepted during the first half of the seventeenth century merely as an unofficial policy, it was embodied, in the early restoration period, in the famous navigation acts. These laws required the colonists to send their tobacco, sugar, indigo and other staple products only to England or to other English colonies; they reserved the colonial market for British manufactured goods by forbidding in general any colonial manufacture, or any direct foreign importations by the colonies; they gave British shipping a monopoly of the colonial trade by excluding foreign vessels from colonial ports. In

other words, there was to be practically a free interchange of goods within the empire, protected by high tariff walls or, more frequently, by a total prohibition of foreign trade, from competition from without. In this closely knit economic union England was the central unit, the colonies the outlying posts. Professor George L. Beer has likened the empire to a planetary system, with the mother country playing the part of the sun, around which the colonies revolved. There was a constant stream of goods from the Chesapeake Bay, from Charleston, from the West Indies to England, bringing tobacco, indigo, rice, sugar and molasses, which was counterbalanced by a return stream of manufactured goods—cloth, clothing, farm implements, household furniture, kitchen utensils, firearms and other commodities.

There was bitter opposition to the navigation acts in the colonies. The West Indies and Virginia protested against restricting the market for sugar and tobacco, and against the rise in freight rates and the cost of manufactured goods which attended the exclusion of foreign traders. But the colonies were forced to submit, for England's prosperity, so it was thought, depended upon the enforcement of this system. And it is true that not only England, but the colonies themselves eventually flourished. The British merchant marine became the largest in the world; Britain's industrial output doubled many times over; the army of the unemployed was put to work; while the colonies grew in population and wealth. The mighty British Empire of today not only had its birth in, but was nurtured by, the old colonial system.

The break-down of this system was a direct consequence of the British industrial revolution. The inventions of Arkwright and Hargreaves, followed as they were by the factory system, made Great Britain supreme in the manufacture of cloth and certain other

articles. So cheaply could these goods be produced by the new machinery that it was impossible for manufacturers in other countries to compete with them. The world market lay at England's feet. Even the highest tariff walls were incapable of keeping out of the Continent the famous products of Sheffield and Leeds, and at the very time when Napoleon Bonaparte was demanding the strictest enforcement of his continental system his army was equipped with British-made overcoats. In other words, Britain now reached out beyond her colonial market to grasp a far richer, far more extensive trade, bounded only by the four corners of the earth. She no longer feared to let foreigners trade within her Empire, for her safety lay not in high tariff walls, but in the superiority of her industrial system.

So the tariff walls came down. The chief battle was waged over the notorious corn laws, designed to protect the British farmer. In 1838 the Anti-Corn-Law League, led by Richard Cobden, launched a vigorous campaign for free grain imports, which resulted eight years later in complete success. England, once predominantly agricultural, had now become an industrial country, and the industrial workers demanded cheaper bread. Moreover, it was illogical, if not impossible, for Great Britain to flood foreign countries with her manufactures, while refusing to admit to her own ports the products of those countries in exchange. Gradually the old restrictions were removed. England became the workshop of the world, her ships going out to China, to the Argentine, to the United States, to the Near East, laden with coal, steel, cloth, tools, and many other goods, and returning with grain, beef and raw materials. As for the colonies, England let them follow their own desires. Since the colonial market was no longer vital, the mother country raised no serious objections when some of them passed protective tariff laws of their own. In the eighteenth century the Board

of Trade had been quick to stamp out the first traces of a colonial manufacturing system, but a century later matters were different. In this way the imperial bonds were loosened, and the Dominions became semi-independent economic units.

As it was an industrial revolution which produced the present era of British free trade, so it is an industrial revolution which threatens to bring it to a close. This revolution had its inception and its growth, not in Great Britain, but in the United States. A century ago the British industrial system was the most efficient in the world; today that of the great American Republic leads all. This change has been brought about by the development of big business, the constantly increasing use of standardized machinery for mass production, the employment of high-paid labor, intelligent leadership and the existence of a vast domestic market, unhampered by restrictive tariffs. British manufacturers are losing ground in the foreign market, because at every turn they are met by American goods sold at a price so low that competition is very difficult. Nor is this all. France, Germany, Italy and other countries, by remodeling their industrial systems, are sharing in the benefits of the new era and are also pressing Great Britain in the world market. In Germany, especially, "rationalization" has become almost a mania, and mass production is the order of the day. An army of technicians and business experts are at work producing monographs on waste elimination and standardization, while the great trusts are scrapping antiquated machinery in favor of modern equipment. Huge gains have resulted in the production of coal and iron, and a higher wage scale. France also, enriched by the mineral districts taken from Germany, is becoming a greater industrial nation than ever before, with modernized factories, a great gold reserve and practically no unemployment.

Only Great Britain lags behind. The British are alive to the need of change, and the development of mass production in the great exporting industries is a subject of constant debate in government and press. Bodies of experts, appointed to investigate the coal mines, the steel plants, or the cotton industry, have all reported that old methods and old machinery must be discarded if foreign competition is to be met. Industrial leaders who have visited the United States to study our system plead for the introduction of standardized equipment and modern organization. But so far little has been accomplished. Many of the coal mines and textile factories are still operated in small units, and each owner insists upon following the methods which he has developed, or perhaps has inherited from his father. In some cases the requisite capital is lacking for the purchase of new equipment; in others the unions refuse to sanction the use of labor-saving machinery which they fear will increase unemployment. British industry is finding it difficult to reconstruct itself overnight in order to keep step with the modern era.

Britain is suffering severely in consequence. With overseas commerce declining at the rate of \$40,000,000 a month; with cotton, steel and shipping at a low ebb; with unemployment a chronic evil; with drastic taxation stifling initiative and drying up purchasing power, the outlook seems dark indeed. The idle, already numbering 2,100,000, are increasing daily, while the cost of the dole system is unbearable. Every man out of a job receives seventeen shillings (about \$4.25) a week from the government, with an additional nine shillings for his wife, and two shillings for each child under fourteen. It is estimated that idleness has cost Great Britain \$3,000,000,000 since the war, while at the same time the government is taking from the people in taxes 22 per cent of the total income. Not since the days of Hakluyt and Carleill has the crisis been so acute.

Perhaps it is inevitable, then, that many in Britain should hark back to the theories of Hakluyt and Carleill. If the old colonial system put an end to "hard times" in the days of James I and Charles I, may it not prove the proper remedy for the evils of today? If the Empire waxed great by means of it, will it not suffice to restore Britain's present waning industrial supremacy? At all events, Lord Beaverbrook and Lord Rothermere, whose audience through their newspapers numbers 10,000,000 souls, have been urging the change. Pointing out that the British commonwealth of nations is practically self-sufficient, except for the lack of cotton and oil, they ask why closer trade relations should not be fostered between the various parts. "If Great Britain cuts down her enormous purchases of foodstuffs from the Argentine," they say, "in favor of heavier imports of Canadian grain and Australian meat, we may expect Canada in return to divert a part of the \$900,000,000 which she lays out annually in American goods, and Australia a part of the huge sums she spends in France, Japan and the United States, to the purchase of British products. Closer trade relations between the various parts of the Empire will benefit all, will create a more powerful, more prosperous whole."

So early as May, 1930, it became evident that this reasoning was having its effect upon British sentiment. In three bye-elections, advocates of the new policy showed surprising strength. On May 6, Sir Cyril Cobb wrested West Fulham from the Laborites, on a straight Empire free-trade platform. At Shefflestone, near Glasgow, and in North Norfolk, large Labor majorities, while not reversed, were greatly reduced by candidates who had espoused the new policy. The North Norfolk election was especially significant, as Lord Beaverbrook himself took the stump, and by his forceful arguments won many voters. If these elections may be taken

as weathervanes of British opinion, it is obvious that hard times are shaking the old free-trade traditions.

Simultaneously, some of the most powerful groups in British industrial life have come out for empire free trade. In June the economic committee of the general council of the Trades Union Congress formulated a series of resolutions in line with the Beaverbrook-Rothermere theories. The British Preparatory Committee for the Imperial Conference, a body representing the organized commerce, industry, and shipping of Great Britain, was even more emphatic, while a manifesto by a group of bankers including Walter Wigham, director of the Bank of England, previously issued on July 4, declared for "extending the market for British goods by reciprocal trade agreements between the nations constituting the British Empire." On Oct. 13, the Grand Council of the Federation of British Industries announced itself in favor of combining "protection of Britain's industrial interests at home with the widest possible extension of inter-Empire preference."

Typical of the United Empire party's program was the plan worked out by a committee of economic experts for a wheat quota purchasing system. Last year England consumed 6,870,000 tons of wheat, of which about 19 per cent was raised at home, 29 per cent in the Dominions and 52 per cent imported from foreign countries. The committee proposed a gradual change, until 25 per cent of the wheat consumed would be raised in England and Wales, 66 per cent would come from Canada and Australia and only 9 per cent from abroad. The Dominions, as was anticipated, received this suggestion with enthusiasm. On the opening day of the Imperial Conference the Premiers, one after the other, rose to give assurance that they would meet the mother country half way in making trade agreements. R. B. Bennett of Canada actually went so far as to declare that the old eco-

nomic order was a thing of the past and announced that he had come to London with a comprehensive scheme of his own for inter-empire trade.

Despite all this optimism there are many grave doubts in Great Britain itself concerning the wisdom of the proposed change, and the old parties are lining up pretty much in keeping with their traditions. The Liberal party, under the leadership of Lloyd George, remains true to its age-old sponsorship of free trade. In the recent annual conference of the National Liberal Federation at Torquay, it put itself on record as opposed to Imperial preference. "Have we anything to gain in throwing obstacles in the way of our foreign trade," Lloyd George asks, "in order to increase our exports to the Dominions? If we restrict our purchases from other countries, they in turn will buy less of our manufactured goods."

On the other hand, the Conservatives are committed to the new policy. This, too, is in keeping with tradition, for it was they, under the leadership of Joseph Chamberlain, who started the cry of "Tariff Reform" in the '90s. In like manner the Labor Government, in taking its stand, has been unable to forget the past. It has long been a tenet with them to foster friendship with other peoples by close bonds of economic interest, and despite the pronouncement of the trade unions the Ministry is not ready to switch to protection. "The use of political boundaries," Premier MacDonald declared recently, "for economic purposes must be stopped."

Whatever Britain decides, and it seems now that the matter must be settled by the voters at the polls, it is obvious that a return to the old colonial system in its entirety is out of the question. Were Canada and Australia to agree to scrap their extensive manufactures, should the Dominions consent to export only to Great Britain and to make purchases from her only, the case would be different.

It is this which makes the comparison of the new system with that of the United States, a comparison which the United Empire party is fond of making, somewhat beside the point. Typical of such statements is that of John R. Remer in a recent address broadcast in this country. "It is under this system of free trade within the economic empire of the United States that the thirteen Colonies developed into the mighty power. * * * If the people of the British Empire once set their feet in the road so successfully traveled by the people of the United States, the seven seas which divide us will no more retard their progress than the prairies and mountains and the rivers in your country." Unfortunately for this argument, the British Empire is divided by something more difficult to surmount than the seven seas; it is divided by semi-independent governments, each having the authority and the will to defend local industrial interests if necessary against competition from other parts of the empire. In the United States if the cotton spinners of Massachusetts are undersold by those of North Carolina, Massachusetts is powerless to protect them; whereas, if the Canadian manufacturers are threatened by British imports, Canada can and will shelter them behind tariff walls.

This being the case, Britain may well hesitate before reversing the momentous decision of a century ago,

when she weakened her grip on the colonial trade, to reach out after a wider market. Her best policy seems to be to fight to retain her share of world trade, even if competition is more and more difficult to meet. But if there is to be hope of ultimate success, she must begin at once a reconstruction of her industrial system. She may stagger along for many years, depending on the reputation of her manufacturers for honesty and thoroughness, and the individual skill of her workmen. But the struggle will be on unequal terms, and the outcome certain. Therefore, she must supplement thoroughness and skill with the latest labor-saving machinery; she must accept the principle of standardization and mass production; she must look for progressive rather than conservative industrial leadership; she must overcome the inertia of the trade unions on the one hand, and of small business on the other.

The cost of reconstruction will be great, but the rewards will be greater still. Had Great Britain used the billions of dollars laid out in doles for the purchase of labor-saving machinery, British industry by this time would probably have been on its feet, and unemployment practically eliminated. Empire free trade cannot touch the heart of the trouble. Britain's ills arise from a weakening industrial system; permanent relief is not to be found by protecting that weak system, but by recasting it.

Morals and the Church

By CHARLES FISKE

Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Central New York

THE past few months have given us an opportunity to see morals in the making. Dean Inge, for example, in the recent book which he feels will be his final contribution to morals, suggests that there are arguments which seem to him irresistible for "the modification of the traditional law absolutely forbidding suicide in all circumstances." The Dean is always stimulating in his philosophical discussion of religious principles, and when he begins to apply his principles practically he is more than stimulating; he is provocative of furious controversy. Not that his practical suggestions do not call for quiet study and serious thought, but he is so delightfully nonchalant in his radical suggestions, they follow each other with such machine gun rapidity, they present so many problems, and entangle the discussion with so many of the Dean's pet prejudices—from Nordic supremacy to the evils of the Roman Catholic system—that it is difficult to keep up with his dance of ideas.

More thought-compelling than the Dean's suggestions are some of the pronouncements of the recent Lambeth Conference. Here we had more than an individual opinion—a serious body representing the Anglican communion and sister and daughter Churches in all parts of the world, having a corporate responsibility, composed of a group of men conservative in tendency, Bishops of the Church, and therefore supposed to be traditionalists, leaders who are natu-

rally cautious because they have so many varied constituencies to lead. Such a gathering speaks with the weight of authority. Yet we find this assembly departing from tradition in its pronouncements on birth control, to give but one example, and doing so, not in weak submission to the demands of a modern situation but after careful study of the moral principles at issue. This is but another instance pointing to the fact that the Churches are facing a crisis in determining their attitude and duty to society in these days of a changing moral code.

In view of the widespread revolt against the traditional moral code in respect to marital and extra-marital relations between the sexes, due to various causes with which all are familiar, we are often asked, What has organized religion been doing either to combat or to adjust itself to changing social conditions and standards of morality? Certain members of the radical intelligentsia have even proclaimed a "sexual revolution." In any case, a momentous change has been taking place, becoming more marked since the end of the war. Recognizing this, the Lambeth Conference has dealt with the whole subject of marriage and sex relations, in a highly courageous effort to answer questions raised by changing social conditions. Not least important is the way in which the conference approaches the allied problem of preventive and rescue work. The report is "radical" in the sense that it goes down to the roots of the social question.

The Lambeth resolutions nevertheless have been called "a timid approach to more modern thinking." No one who reads the whole section on the problems of sex, or the preceding section on marriage—certainly no one who reads carefully the discussion of race problems or the pronouncements on war—can fairly assert that the conference is timid. Its conclusions may be derided by extremists at both ends, but the truth usually lies between extremes. The really important thing is that, at a time when there is prevalent a great deal of unrest and uncertainty, here we have evidence that Church leaders are honestly seeking to guide society in a spirit of courageous moral adventure. Even in the war period there were some Church leaders boldly saying practically the same thing about war that this conference now says; notable among them the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who suffered greatly for his stand.

What can the Church do in the present moral crisis? It can certainly encourage such spiritual adventure. It can be fearless in its readiness to listen to all questions and try to answer them, no longer treating some as taboo. Whatever may be the cost, however great the immediate loss, it can insist that "the ethics of Christianity," as Dean Inge puts it, "are religious ethics; they have their centre in God." They have, therefore, a character of their own, which "makes them generically different from secularist or materialistic ethics." "Only when it is recognized that the Church has no interests except the moral and spiritual welfare of the whole society in which it is placed; only when the Church is content to be the conscience of the nation, holding up, as a shining light, the standard of values which Christ came to earth to reveal, can the Church discharge the duty it ought to perform."

Few people do any real thinking, and most people are tremendously disturbed in any situation or by any con-

dition which demands of them the stern exercise of their brains and acute examination of their consciences. In all intellectual and moral movements, progress is made against a dead weight of mass conservatism. People, in the mass, are fearful of change, and it is not surprising that the Church has shared in this timidity. Yet there have always been leaders who have broken paths for others to follow. "Changes arise," says Bishop Gore, "from the influence of small groups of men, inspired by prophetic leaders, who have the courage and faith to bind men together until their vision and their faith come to prevail more or less completely in society at large." Revolutions begin with the intelligentsia; later take possession of the masses; sweep on to excess; return to sanity. This has been the age-long experience, even in the realm of the spiritual.

What we need today is courage and faith to go to the roots of all problems, not a slavish following of early Christian leaders; we need to recognize that what they thought and what they did, they thought and did under the compelling power of the spirit of their Master, as that spirit could best inform them in their age. He possessed and filled them. In interpreting the teaching of Jesus we have too often looked upon his sayings as precepts—laws and regulations to be obeyed—rather than as great principles of conduct to be applied and interpreted in the more complex conditions of our own age. Christ's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount, for example, is actually a summary, given in short, sharp, vivid, proverbial, aphoristic form, and we must look down to the core of the teaching to discover what it means now for men and nations, what it means for us. The important thing is to examine and analyze basic motives, to discover Christ's spiritual motivations, to lay hold upon the great principles He sets forth, rather than to make a definite effort to follow certain precepts, given necessarily

in a form which accommodated itself to the age in which He lived.

This is what men are trying to do now in their interpreting of "the social gospel," and we have had brave leaders who have sacrificed themselves in such service, at the risk of misunderstanding, misrepresentation and ostracism. Bishop Gore has done such a work in England; Dr. Harry Ward in America; and in the last generation, such men as Dr. Rauschenbush. The questions with which these men are dealing are moral problems, basic for society. Moral codes deal with other matters than sex! There are, in like manner, men who prove their leadership in facing the intellectual problems of faith. Dr. Fosdick, for example, appeals to a unique congregation because of his very "awareness" of these problems. In England men like Rashdall dared to do independent thinking and have shown that such an examination of the foundations of belief may be carried on in a beautifully devout and deeply religious spirit, not as mere intellectual gymnastics. Scholars among the masters of biblical criticism have reached conclusions in Old and New Testament interpretation, not because they have been forced to adjust their ideas to the objections of unbelievers but because their pursuit of truth has of itself led them to new ideas about the Bible which they find consistent with real faith. Their work has saved Christianity from defective and ignorant teaching which was really undermining foundations instead of safeguarding them.

Dean Inge, who has never lacked in daring, sometimes seems perversely mischievous. He is a curious mixture of the detached student in the *templa serena* of divine philosophy and the sensational journalist striving after the spectacular. He sees so many problems and finds them so distressing that he has been called "the gloomy Dean." But certainly his latest book on *Christian Ethics and Modern Problems* (New York: Putnam's)

shows the same "awareness" in the sphere of morals which Fosdick shows in his statements of popular difficulties in the realm of faith.

Few of us can accept all Dean Inge's conclusions. As illustrating his delightful inconsistencies we can never be quite sure whether or not he accepts them himself. While he does not judge other suicides severely, for example, he promptly declares that were he himself attacked by a painful disease he would have patience to wait for the end, and would not wish any one near and dear to him to act otherwise. The chief thing in his recent book for which the Dean is either highly praised or strongly condemned is a proposal for the revision of marriage and divorce laws. What he suggests, in brief, is that marriages should be of two kinds—a limited contract for persons who do not recognize lifelong vows of fidelity, and a marriage in which the man and woman take lifelong vows—the first to be recognized by the State and the second by the Church.

The Dean's position is criticized (and it would seem justly) as "confused and contradictory." Even organized divorce law reformers so declare. "In one place he says that those who invoke the blessing of the Church on their union would be understood to have pledged themselves to lifelong fidelity, and in another place he says that the doctrine that marriage is absolutely indissoluble cannot be proved from the New Testament, and that Christ, in his opinion, never meant to lay down hard and fast rules. This seems to be a contradiction in ideas."

For years some devoted churchmen in America, such men, for example, as Dr. Stetson of Trinity Church, New York, whose opinions coincide with those I myself have expressed, have been urging, not precisely what Dean Inge recommends, but a clear distinction between a civil ceremony and a religious sacrament, the French system of requiring the civil marriage, whether or not the religious ceremony

follows. We would not have the Church give its blessing upon the marriage of those who are really indifferent to the Church's service save as a pleasant social function, possibly not to those who have no church affiliation, certainly not to those who have no intention whatever of adventuring upon marriage as a spiritual union. Let those who do not regard permanent monogamous marriage—not only in the light of Christian teaching, but in the light of age-long experience—as one of the bases of social security leave the Church out in their arrangements. The part the Church plays in the service is about as unreal as the prayers with which political conventions are opened. Why should churches be obsessed by the modern craze for bigness to such an extent as to give moral support and a respectable refuge to all who ask its shelter?

The Church must meet its responsibility (and opportunity) in the spirit of its Master, who trod the path of duty, no matter where it led or what it cost. That spirit is the spirit of love, but never the spirit of loose, lax, kindly intentioned compromise. Christ demands of the Church quality, not quantity; worth, not numbers; fearlessness in following toward truth, not cowardly evasion of issues; willingness to proclaim what it believes to be the truth, though men deem it hard and narrow; equal willingness to stand for what it believes to be the truth, though other men call it novel or dangerous.

Whatever men may think of the Church, they feel that if it is to justify its existence it must be more than a safety zone for pious people. It must offer courageous moral leadership in defining moral issues and setting forth moral standards in an honest effort to meet the special difficulties of this uncertain, doubting and questioning age.

The chief criticism of the Church arises out of the fact that the average church member evades the actual

moral problems which haunt straight-thinking questioners today. President Bell of St. Stephen's College tells of an undergraduate who came to him with this question: "Ethics means just what is customary; why should I be a slave to convention? Is there any reason why I should not keep a mistress while I am in college, so long as I take good care to see that she and I are healthy?" Rumor says that some one repeated this question to a clergyman of the old school and asked, "How would you answer it?" The reply was, "I would remind him of what his godfathers and godmothers promised him in baptism." That but slightly exaggerates the notion in the minds of many as to the general attitude of Christian churches to brutal questions about moral problems. And there have been not a few evidences that the replies of religion to questions about our changing moral code have been just as discerning and satisfactory and exactly as clear and courageous as the alleged reply of this gentle clergyman. When Dr. Bell told his story at a church congress session in a conservative Southern city some years ago, the only reaction some of us could observe was that of indignant protest at the "bad taste" exhibited in mentioning such a subject in a mixed assembly. It did not seem to occur to the critics that the question called for honest effort to explain the real basis of morals.

What irritates the youth of today (to begin with the obvious and outstanding justification for their protest) is that church people seem so little aware of the fact that there may be legitimate changes in our moral code. If they do become acutely conscious that changes have come, whether legitimate or not, they are timid about close inquiries into the facts and fearful of speaking about them publicly save by way of complaint and protest. "The fact is," a young friend of mine said recently, "the Church is for the most part made up of older people who value, above

everything else, repose of mind. Their religion is not a challenging faith. They worship as they have been accustomed to worship since they first came by inheritance into the religion of their fathers. They do what for their day has always been considered right to do. They believe what they have always believed. They are afraid to think. They won't face facts. They won't even face facts about their own sons and daughters; I know my parents won't. They are afraid of finding out what we do or what we really think. I wonder whether, perhaps, this is not because it is more comfortable not to be sure; they cannot tell what course they might be called upon to follow, if they found out. Sometimes I think they are not quite clear themselves as to what is right and what is wrong. They have grave doubt as to our souls' health, but they fear to make a diagnosis; they are content to go on hoping that somehow things will be all right in the end."

Significant, therefore, are the outspoken pronouncements of the Lambeth Conference on extremely delicate sex problems which have come to a head since the previous conference of 1920. To those who are anxious that the moral influence of the Church should be exerted to the full, the frankness of the conference will be most heartening. We are cheered by this hope that the wide publicity given the action on birth control, coupled with the realization that it marks a distinct advance in courageous endeavor, may lead to a sympathetic consideration of the whole Report on Marriage and Sex.

This report is definite and clear in its condemnation of divorce, although calling attention to the Church's unceasing responsibility for the spiritual welfare of such of its members as fall short of what is declared to be the Christian standard. It emphasizes the truth that "the sexual instinct is a holy thing implanted by God in human nature." It acknowledges that "intercourse between husband and wife as

the consummation of marriage has a value of its own within that sacrament," and that "thereby married love is enhanced and its character strengthened." Further, seeing that the primary purpose for which marriage exists is the procreation of children, it "believes that this purpose as well as the paramount importance in married life of deliberate and thoughtful self-control should be the governing consideration in that intercourse."

Declarations such as these should be emphasized equally with the careful statement that "in cases where there is a clearly felt moral obligation to limit or avoid parenthood, and where there is a morally sound reason for avoiding complete abstinence," methods of conception-control may be used, "provided that this is done in the light of the same Christian principles." The conference, however, also records its strong condemnation of the use of any methods of conception-control from motives of selfishness, luxury or mere convenience, and it further records its abhorrence of the practice of abortion, since this "has as its aim the destruction of life which has already come into being."

Dean Inge occasionally indulges in what seem to be snap judgments, none too clearly followed to their logical conclusions but not so the conference report on "trial" or "companionate" marriages. It reads:

"That men and women should have ample opportunities for mutual knowledge before any binding decision is reached is obvious, and in our day at least such opportunities for comradeship are not usually lacking. But to include in such a 'trial' the innermost intimacies of marriage itself is to prove lacking in those very qualities of reverence and discipline for both body and mind on which the happiness of married life so signally depends. There is more in the matter than this. No course of action can be right for individuals which, if repeated and extended throughout society, would cause grave damage, if not chaos.

Furthermore, for a man and woman to give themselves to each other in sexual intercourse is to establish a relationship which, unless it is the outcome of mere lust, craves to be binding. Particularly is this so on the woman's side, for with her such intercourse is the natural prelude or accompaniment to motherhood and home. If that sequence is broken at the outset it causes a moral and sometimes also a mental dislocation. Things can never be the same again, and there remains a profound dissatisfaction of heart and mind which cannot but leave an indelible mark on character. There is more in love than pleasure, and to take the physical act out of its context of life-long loyalty the one to the other is to play fast and loose with duty to the community, and, still more, to defy that law of God by which His children's welfare is secured."

Finally, there is pertinence in the brief paragraph which admits that economic conditions are a serious factor in the present situation and condemns the propaganda which treats conception-control as "a way of meeting unsatisfactory social and economic conditions which ought to be changed by the influence of Christian public opinion." Those who demand that the Church shall exercise moral leadership will find that last clause loaded with dynamite. It may presage an explosion when the conference meets ten years hence, unless in the meanwhile decisive steps have been taken to Christianize the present social, commercial and industrial order.

Surely we have in such pronouncements a striking example of what may be expected of a Church alive to its opportunity in molding social opinion and setting up definite moral standards amid the shifting changes of present-day thought. What a contrast to the situation in many parts of America today! Is it any wonder that critics of organized religion feel that the Churches of America are evading big problems which go to the roots of

our present disorder, while pottering over petty things? We think, for example, of a type of evangelism not yet dead, which played but one tune until it triumphed in the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment; industrial leaders, meanwhile, opening their purses to support the religious revival and the evangelists remaining conveniently blind to "unsatisfactory social and economic conditions," denouncing with vigor the curse of drink and tactfully keeping silence about the industrial order. At the present time one would suppose that all problems of American morals were summed up in the commandment, "Thou shalt not drink," and that every evil, from laxity in sex relations to gangster rule and racketeering, issued out of the refusal to accept this commandment as heaven-born.

The real objection some of us have to "the pernicious activity of paid uplifters" arises from the fact that they force the average man to think of Protestant Christians and especially of Protestant ministers as self-appointed censors who are for the most part zealously engaged in snooping into other people's business, regulating other people's morals, and endeavoring to standardize other people's brains. It seems to us the sign of a failing faith that the Churches should turn from inspirational and educational effort and endeavor to compel people to be good by force of arms. We do not like ministers who are moral policemen.

The use of wrong methods to bring about what these church people regard as a great good has led to defiant revolt on the part of the new generation, while to older and more careful thinkers it is indicative of the barrenness and poverty of faith which seems to be revealed in organized Christianity today. They have ceased to expect much of Churches, and this makes it difficult for us to exercise a healthy steadying influence. Certainly this spiritual poverty is a chief cause of the moral revolt of youth.

How can we expect the ethical standards of the Church to receive acceptance unless the Church itself has hearty respect and the methods of its members seem decently fair and aimed at right ends? What sort of an ethical system could be expected of churches whose ministers have gone mad on prohibition and a few similar reform movements? We shall never enforce laws which define as crimes and misdemeanors what the majority of the people of a community do not yet regard as sins. Surely the churches have a larger task to perform—a service much more serious for times much more critical.

Somewhere Miss Maude Royden tells of a conversation with a distinguished theologian to whom she exclaimed impulsively, "I despise religious people," to which he replied, to her astonishment, "Shake hands! So do I." Dr. Royden must have been speaking as the representative of the new generation. Perhaps we may hope that she was also speaking for them when she hastened to explain that she did not despise really religious people, but that she resented a particular type of piety.

I have tried to arrange conferences on the problem of prohibition to be attended by anti-prohibitionists and representatives of the churches—always without success. There is a type of church member who regards the whole matter as a closed issue. They are willing to have Anti-Saloon League leaders debate it in public; but they are unwilling to meet in private

friendly conference. Is not this method, nevertheless, the only method by which we may hope to arrive at any mutual understanding or reach any common ground?

Lambeth gives us hope of the dawning of a better day. Hope, moreover, that the churches will realize that their real work is one of guidance, leadership, patient education, moral training, influence and example, not compulsion by law. Their Master's method was always to set forth principles rather than to advocate specific reforms. He contented himself with arousing a new conscience. And the real business of the Churches is to make men's hearts right and then trust their enlightened consciences to recognize duty and heed its call. Lambeth frames no legislation. Its decrees have no binding force. They can but commend themselves to the several Churches as carefully considered counsel.

That should be the method of all Christian churches. We may honor the courageous individual who, like Dean Inge, is a daring pathbreaker; but our best endeavor must be to correct individualism and through corporate action to arrive at general principles which may be set forth clearly for the guidance of the individual. In this work, we ourselves should be guided by the age-long experience of Christian moralists, even when compelled to modify their decisions. Always the Church should try to be "the conscience of the community," not its statutory agent or enforcement bureau.

Clemenceau: A Despot in a Democracy

By PERTINAX (André Géraud)

French Editor and Publicist

MEN can be classified in three categories. At one extreme are the majority, who are impressed by what they are taught, by the attitudes and acts of people around them; it is very difficult to determine the personal contribution of such people to their environment. Then there are a selected few who make a judicious choice among the ideas and the men who surround them, accepting some and leaving their mark upon the rest. At the other extreme are a few intractable beings, rough customers who, spontaneously, systematically, assert their individuality at every turn and cannot help but feel defrauded whenever they have to follow some one else's lead. Even at the price of becoming involved in all kinds of contradictions, they resolutely set their faces against an idea simply because it originated in the mind of some one they dislike.

Georges Clemenceau, it must be said, not only refused to be used as a horse by any of his fellow-creatures but was determined to have them indiscriminately harnessed, as so many horses, to him. Before everything else, he was a man of character and of strong temper. In fact, he pushed character and temper to extremities which are seldom seen.

Perhaps his egotism can be traced to his ancestry. He sprang from a family of petty squires deeply rooted in the soil of Vendée, a very honor-

able stock, close to the peasants and much loved by them while they exercised imperative leadership. Clemenceau was, by personal disposition, extraordinarily tyrannical. He never became entrained in any lasting bond of affection outside a very small circle of friends. He clashed with his father, Dr. Benjamin Clemenceau, when, as a young student, he went to Paris in the '60s and was thrown into prison for a few days on account of political activities inimical to the imperial régime. His attachment to his American wife, Miss Mary Palmer, did not survive many years of conjugal experience. He is not known to have allowed any woman, despite the fact that women crowded his existence, ever to gain ascendancy over him. He was obviously bored by his daughters, who made some pretense of being highly intellectual and political-minded. During the war he ordered them to the countryside in his most abrupt manner.

As to Clemenceau's political family, the men who fought by his side in Parliament and journalism, his contempt for them was unbounded. When he formed his first Cabinet in 1906 he gave ridiculous nicknames to his Ministers. General Picquart, in charge of the War Office, was dubbed "Polin," the name of a vaudeville performer who always wore a soldier's cap on the stage; old Milliès Lacroix, the Colonial Minister, was "the Negro,"

while Caillaux and Barthou were "the kids."

Of course, the French political world of the '80s, when Clemenceau achieved fame as a rising Parliamentary hero, was not conspicuous in the mass for its refinement and general ability. This was especially true of that section of the extreme Left, sprung from the lower middle class, where Clemenceau held sway. Nevertheless, Clemenceau consistently pushed to the front the most mediocre and commonplace individuals. In 1887 he was chiefly instrumental in preventing Jules Ferry, a true statesman, from being elected to the Presidency of the republic. Clemenceau himself picked out the figurehead, Sadi Carnot, who finally won the day. In 1899 he paved the Elysian way for Loubet, an honest but second-rate politician, and, in 1913, he did his best to elect Pams against Poincaré, and was sorry when he failed. On all these occasions he openly asserted that the supreme charge in the republic had better devolve upon the shoulders of the dullest and most passive of all the possible candidates.

In the Autumn of 1917 he recruited his Cabinet, the Cabinet of victory, hurriedly, paying hardly any attention to the intrinsic value of the men. Thus, he was responsible for the appointment as Finance Minister of L. L. Klotz, who in July, 1929, was sent to jail for forgery and fraud. Clemenceau was never so happy as when he succeeded in placing one of the great leaders of the period in a ridiculous light. Hardly anybody escaped his biting wit. Woodrow Wilson, Lloyd George, Poincaré, Foch—none was fortunate enough to be spared. With Lloyd George he nearly came to blows. When Foch was made Generalissimo of the allied armies at the most tragic hour of the war, Clemenceau shouted at him sardonically: "At last you have got your paper and I am sure you feel very happy." At the end of the war he was no longer on speaking terms with Poincaré, then Presi-

dent, and did not even trouble to answer his admonitory letters. Needless to say, he felt only the deepest contempt for Briand. "I'd rather have that sort of creature in satin shoes than in men's boots!" he once declared. A few days before his death, Clemenceau said to Barrère, the illustrious former Ambassador of France in Rome: "When they shoot him at Vincennes, you will act there as my representative!" Truly, it was not surprising that Georges Clemenceau passed everywhere under the name of "The Tiger." He cared for very few people, and knaves and slaves surrounded him. His moral solitude must have been terrible.

Sometimes, when provoked or resisted, Clemenceau would not stop at jerking out sharp phrases. Dagger in hand, he would make for the life—the political life—of his foe. His foolish vendetta against Delcassé arose in the following circumstances: Clemenceau had struck up a great friendship with the wife of Count d'Aunay, the French Minister to Copenhagen. During their stay at the Danish Court the Count and Countess followed day by day the efforts made by Princess Waldewar (of French birth) to induce Czar Alexander III into an alliance with France. Countess d'Aunay was careful to keep Clemenceau fully informed of the negotiations. Being at that time a stern radical and relentlessly opposed to Russia, Clemenceau disclosed the scheme in a newspaper article, and Count d'Aunay, held responsible for this breach of official secrecy, was dismissed from the service. Clemenceau had no friend in the Cabinet to whom he could appeal for redress except, perhaps, Delcassé, who was then only the head of the Colonial Department, and helpless to get the decision of the Foreign Minister rescinded. But such an excuse was not deemed valid by the angry lover who prepared for vengeance.

Not even when Delcassé became Foreign Minister in 1899 could he see his way clear to reinstate Count

d'Aunay, who, it should be added, was not credited with any special intelligence. Then Clemenceau's fury burst into the open. It mattered not that Delcassé was laying the foundations of the Anglo-French alliance or Entente Cordiale, a diplomatic plan Clemenceau had always considered of supreme importance for the future of France. Delcassé did not comply with his whims and caprices. Delcassé must go. In the vehemence of his hate, Clemenceau went so far as to side against the greatest Foreign Minister of the Third Republic in his diplomatic duel with Germany and to cheer his dismissal at the bidding of the German Chancellor. The first step Clemenceau took after becoming Premier in 1906 was to send d'Aunay as Ambassador to Switzerland. There was ironical laughter when it became known that d'Aunay, who must have lacked sense of humor, had chosen a villa in Berne called "La Favorite."

But Clemenceau's revenge did not end his rancor. As chairman of the marine commission of the Chamber, Delcassé criticized the management of the navy. Clemenceau again sprang at his throat, making capital of Germany's diplomatic victory four years before. But Clemenceau had to pay dearly for his recklessness. The indignant Deputies expelled him from office. In that lengthy quarrel there was no case to be made out for Clemenceau. He was prompted throughout by pique and vanity. He trampled upon national interests as upon a litter of straw.

Clemenceau had in him the stuff of a medieval tyrant—notwithstanding all his professed devotion to parliamentary freedom and government by the people. More accurately, he was unwittingly fascinated by the Nietzschean ideal. He was a law unto himself alone. In other words, he placed himself above all ordinary laws and regulations. The words Corneille puts into the mouth of Cinna could have been used by him at any moment:

And since the heavenly power admits we
are uncommon souls,
Outside the common order of things, he
sets forth our destiny.

Most people's actions are motivated by what others will think of them, and this instinctive check probably makes for the strength of the social bond. But Clemenceau behaved in exactly the opposite way. He actually delighted in shocking the most widely held prejudices. In that respect he stood as a living antithesis to Poincaré, who is perhaps too much subservient to public opinion. Unfortunately, Clemenceau himself lived in a glass house glittering on a hilltop. His life can be discussed frankly, for the record he left behind is big enough to stand the truth.

In choosing the means of his livelihood Clemenceau was not too particular. Without a private income and having renounced, for the sake of politics, all idea of a medical practice, he turned to journalism to make the money he needed. In his early days he needed a good deal, the night life he led being a costly affair. Of course, he did not pursue the journalistic calling as we understand it today. For him a newspaper was not an instrument for conveying accurate news to the public, but merely a medium for expressing one-sided opinions and carrying on the political battle. From a strictly pecuniary point of view such a business could not possibly succeed. The only thing to do was to apply for funds to a wealthy man in search of political influence for his own private purposes and, when that source was exhausted, to continue the quest elsewhere.

Among the rich capitalists invited to subsidize a Clemenceau newspaper (for instance, *Justice*, which came out in 1880) was Cornelius Herz, one of the worst rascals of the century, a German-born, naturalized American. When the Panama scandal arose ten years later he was found to have been one of the most disreputable intermediaries between the Panama com-

pany and the Deputies and Senators whose approval was bought for the various bills to afford relief to a sadly harassed management. All Herz's crimes were committed at the very time he was extending his benefactions to Clemenceau's paper. I had it from Lord Oxford, who, as Mr. Asquith, was Home Secretary in Gladstone's Cabinet in 1892 and in a position to know a good deal about the private papers of Cornelius Herz (then a refugee in England), that Clemenceau cannot be absolved from all responsibility in that unpleasant affair.

Money was never for Clemenceau an end in itself. He lived and died a poor man, but all his life he meant to live as a gentleman. He therefore had to put up with associations and connections which, while they never obstructed the essentials of his policy, wrapped him all the same in a disagreeable atmosphere and could not but breed suspicion against him.

The great tragedy of Clemenceau's life occurred in the '90s, when, in keeping with his habit of pushing onto the political stage men who might be of some personal advantage to him, irrespective of their merits, he let loose upon France General Boulanger (whom he mistook for a Radical!) and his very dangerous faction. Not until it was too late did he realize his error. A terrible storm arose against him and he was publicly accused, on the production of forged papers, of having been in the pay of the British Government—a calumny that was quickly exposed but clung to him for a long time. At the election of 1893 he was defeated in the Department of the Var. Every one avoided him. He became a wreck. He was penniless. He thought of committing suicide.

Such an accumulation of tragic circumstances was required to test the steel in his heart. He was equal to an ordeal which lasted nearly ten years, for the electors in the Var did not return him to Parliament (this time

to the Senate) until 1902. Here we encounter Clemenceau's true greatness, his matchless courage, his unbending character. Stendhal tells the story of an old General of the Napoleonic wars who, having faced death on many battlefields, is put in command of a military district and allows himself to be bullied by the officials at the prefecture. That common type of humanity is as far removed from Clemenceau as can be imagined.

He never hesitated to fight a duel and continuously kept in training at the shooting range so as to be ready for any emergency. As a matter of fact, he was not lucky in these encounters. Thus he missed Deroulède, who had accused him of having sold himself to the British Cabinet. Nor was he any more successful when he fought his duel with Floquet, the "white parrot," in 1887.

An angry, bloodthirsty crowd could not intimidate him. In 1871, as Mayor of Montmartre, he had to deal with the murderers of General Clement-Thomas and Lecomte. He was not able to save them, but he rescued many others out of the deathtrap and outwitted the mob by sheer fortitude of soul. Thirty-five years later, as Minister of the Interior, he made an attempt to control the strikers in the north of France by the strength of his presence and to do away with military assistance for the maintenance of public order. He again failed in that endeavor, but, after all, none of his predecessors or successors ever deliberately incurred such risks.

Party ties, party obligations did not exist for him when a great national interest or what he regarded as a reflection on personal honor was at stake. It will be urged that he never cared for party and never was an adept in what is called the "republic of comrades." Of course, but he was ready, a very rare occurrence indeed, to sever all those ties at the moment of greatest inconvenience to himself. He broke with Dreyfus and many of Dreyfus's friends when, after the sec-

and court-martial at Rennes, Dreyfus agreed to petition the President for mercy in order to be sent back to his family and home after years of persecution. Clemenceau wanted him to go on fighting unflinchingly for the ends of justice.

During the World War he parted with Louis Malvy, the Radical-Socialist Minister of the Interior, and numerous Radical-Socialist leaders because they dared not deal drastically with the dubious elements agitating for premature peace. His superiority over all other French statesmen and politicians, when in the Autumn crisis of 1917 he was called to the Premiership, is partly due to the fact that he was ready to do absolutely anything that might relieve the plight of the nation and make for victory. Left to himself, he would have shot Malvy, Cailiaux and Briand, who had dangled in absurd pourparlers with von Lanken. What had been called his recklessness thus became the most powerful bulwark of his own country and the Allies.

Pointing to his variability, his inconsistency, to the savage blows he struck at others and even at himself with a look of sadistic enjoyment, Maurice Barrès, in the early years of the century, coined for him the epithet of "skullheaded butterfly" (*papillon à tête de mort*). Barrès and other critics perhaps forgot that no such part could be sustained over so many years without an unlimited store of courage and self-sacrifice. To illustrate: after his reverses in 1893 Clemenceau's friends persuaded the *Echo de Paris* to publish articles by him on literary topics at a fairly remunerative price. Politics were excluded, but once Clemenceau happened to insert an unpleasant reference to Waldeck Rousseau. The editor, a close friend of the latter, quietly eliminated the objectionable phrase, which, as a matter of fact, could be easily taken out of the context. Although Clemenceau needed the money badly, he would never again

contribute a single line to that newspaper. In spite of explanations given him in the most conciliatory spirit, he stood by his decision. There was a good deal of false pride, of conceit, of vanity, of bravado in those doings of Clemenceau. His false pride showed itself blatantly now and then, such as when he refused officially to stand for the Presidency of the republic, which he secretly coveted, hoping to be elected by a spontaneous plebiscite; or again, when he gave instructions for an atheistic funeral. But beneath that surface there was the rock of the indomitable man. And on that rock the German Empire broke.

The name of Clemenceau is indissolubly bound up with the Allies' triumph of November, 1918. Being then 77 years old, his leadership in the war had come, therefore, as the ultimate task of an exceptionally long political life, which began in September, 1870, when the Third Republic was proclaimed. It remains to analyze Clemenceau's ideas during the half-century before the European trial of strength, to define the political doctrine which he held and tried to promote through his powerful personality. It remains, also, to ask whether his intelligence was on the same high level as his character, whether the spirit in him was an equal match for his heart. Personally, I am inclined to give a negative answer.

Clemenceau had been brought up in the French republican idealism of the nineteenth century. Dr. Benjamin Clemenceau, his father, who had settled in Nantes, was head of the local Republican party during the ephemeral revolution of 1848 and again under the Third Empire. These Republicans adopted the traditions of the assemblies which governed France from 1789 to the advent of Bonaparte, and laid the solid foundations of the modern State. But, except for a few months in 1848, they never had the opportunity to put their ideas to the test. Thus they had wandered far from political realities, so

that when finally called upon to do practical work in 1871 the cleverest of them were forced to an abandonment of the magnificent schemes which they had discussed so long, a change which was denounced in the famous phrase: "How fine was the Third Republic under the Second Empire!"

As a radical, Clemenceau repudiated those who were more amenable than himself to the teachings of political wisdom—Jules Ferry, Jules Favre, Jules Grévy, de Freycinet and even Gambetta—in short, all the Ministerial combinations whose "opportunism" disgusted him. Armed with the old idealism of revolutionary days, he defeated them in Parliament time after time—with the help of the royalist and Bonapartist votes—and behaved as a sort of Republican Warwick, more apt to destroy than to rebuild Cabinets. In the nineties and early in the present century, when Marxist socialism gathered strength and began to absorb the radical elements, he fought that, too, and entrenched himself in the individualism of his spiritual ancestors. His most inspired speeches were probably delivered against Jaurès in 1906, and, in consequence, the conservative and "opportunist" Republicans of all shades congregated around him little by little and he became their most efficient leader against the newcomers. He retained his own radicalism as of old, but his ideas frightened his new friends no more than the possibility of the resurrection of the monsters of the glacial era. His radicalism had degenerated into a literary ornament and a distinctive attitude in life. As well in the world of ideas as in the world of men, he was lonely and he was wont to repeat sadly the pessimistic line from Ibsen: "When you prepare to fight for freedom, don't put on your best trousers."

What, then, was his credo? An all-pervading, aggressive atheism and materialism, the positive side of which was an unbounded belief in the ca-

capacity of science to solve the riddle of mankind, but devoid of Auguste Comte's mysticism and, above all, of all sense of relativity, of every shade of modesty. In short, it was an atheism of the forum rather than of the philosopher's study. As young lions, Clemenceau and his friends had sworn not to have anything to do with priests and monks during their lifetime. He kept his word to the very end; twice only did he break the rule—once when he underwent a serious operation in a nursing home conducted by nuns and became their affectionate friend, and again when, on the entry of the French troops into Strasbourg, he officially visited the cathedral at the request of Empress Eugénie, the widow of Napoleon III. But such exceptions did not change his heart and one would be tempted to write that he must have enjoyed his pagan funeral.

Before 1871 he believed in the rational government of men, in a single-chamber constitution, in the abolition of all trusts and monopolies, in the most unrestricted forms of public freedom, in the intrinsic goodness of men and in universal suffrage. The many vicissitudes of his life forced him to adorn those cherished tenets of his with a sardonic smile. In normal circumstances he would probably have developed into a pacifist of the 1848 pattern. But his rough schooling in the war of 1870 and what came after rekindled in him the patriotic and nationalist fire which had inspired the revolutionary convention of 1793. More and more firmly he stuck to the fixed idea that sooner or later France would have to withstand the onslaught of the German Empire and vindicate against it European freedom. Such was the mainspring of the harsh realism which dominated him more and more as he advanced in life.

But even his idealism was tainted by many queer vagaries. In the National Assembly called at Bordeaux in 1871 to make peace with Germany

he petitioned that Corsica be returned to Italy, apparently to rid France of the Bonaparte birthplace. He fought the case for Dreyfus as a rabid anti-militarist as well as a champion of an innocent man, and in 1914 the French Army still felt the effect of his blows. Until the beginning of the century he never let pass an opportunity to urge the abandonment of all colonies as likely to dissipate France's precious resources of blood and treasure abroad, instead of hoarding them to strengthen her on the Continent. On that theory he struck more than once at Jules Ferry. How wrong he was! The colonial empire of France was destined to become one of her most powerful assets in wartime. He himself during his first Ministry of 1906-1909 had to revise those anti-colonial ideas and push the policy which was to culminate in the establishment of the Moroccan protectorate.

A comprehensive view of Clemenceau's life does not reveal a master mind advancing on well-thought-out lines and using the outside world as the potter uses his clay. In him there was nothing of Richelieu, Cavour or Bismarck. He was moved by instinct and passions rather more than by reason, and although an undisguised cynicism acted upon him as a sort of brake and his intense patriotism mounted guard, he was unable in

many cases to apprehend the truth of a situation.

Having been brought up in the rhetorical discipline of a hundred years ago, he was incapable of investigating a question exhaustively, of adding up all relevant facts and solving a problem on its own merits. He dealt in generalities and platitudes, as any one can judge who reads his so-called philosophical books. As a Minister, details escaped him. From 1906 to 1909, despite his vivid sense of the forthcoming German danger, he allowed Caillaux, his Finance Minister, to cut down the army budget drastically. Being highly contemptuous of most men who chanced to cross his path, he could not borrow from others the wisdom of which he himself was deprived. During the peace conference in 1919 he went so far as to order Barrère, French Ambassador in Rome, to be placed under arrest at the frontier station because he had volunteered to come to Paris to tender him unasked advice! Thus, on the whole, he failed at the peace conference in spite of his tenacious adherence to the classical conception of French policy.

All the same, Clemenceau will go down to posterity as a great man. He is perhaps the most striking example of what sheer strength of character can achieve without the guidance of a dominating intellect.

The Daily Struggle in Soviet Russia

By ALZADA COMSTOCK

Professor of Economics, Mount Holyoke College

SOVIET RUSSIA, that alien land from which come tales of blood and hunger to offend the Western ear, is growing further and further away from the culture which is passing judgment upon its ways. One by one the familiar Russian churches are torn down, the small farmsteads are abolished, and the little shops are closed. The universities of Moscow and the provinces discard the European tradition, and the men of arts and letters proclaim the social revolution through their works, neglecting the discipline of their artistic creeds. Even the Soviet calendar, with its lost Sabbath and its five-day week, wears a strange face.

Behind this altered façade the Russian's daily life is changing. The revolution is scarcely more than thirteen years old, but in its time two spiritual revolutions have swept the worker's habits of life and thought. The first found him a serf just freed and fired him with the hope of ordering his life like that of the well-to-do workers of the West. But as factories grew up beside the rivers and great mechanized wheat farms changed the dark virgin soil to gold, the Russian's face again turned eastward, toward the plains of his own land. Again his goal was altered, and today he follows a routine which has been modified by Soviet experience, not one which has simply been transplanted.

A crowd of Russian office and factory workers going home at the end

of their seven or eight hour day seems drabber than the English or American homegoing throng. At least the dresses of the women are duller and poorer, and their faces are more sallow. Ivan himself, the typical Russian workman, in his linen blouse of Summer or his fur-lined coat and high boots of Winter, sometimes shows a grace which the working women lack.

Of what is he thinking, this Ivan who is one of the crowd streaming away from the factory in the late afternoon, to wait interminably for the packed tramcar to take him home? It may be that his mind is full of a child who is ill, or the question of a Winter coat, like that of his brother workingman the world over. But just as likely he is going over his quarrel with the house committee, or the number of hours he must stand in line tonight for vodka.

A fraction of the workers in Moscow live in the new apartment houses which are springing up on the fringes of the city; houses constructed along modern lines, with up-to-date lighting and plumbing, whose courtyards have gravelled walks, benches, flowers and fountains. But there are as yet relatively few of these houses. The worker is more likely to live in one of the older, crowded sections of the city, where big houses of merchants of the old régime have been cut up into apartments, and even the stable is the home of a lively flock of children, or where separate rooms of former apart-

ments have been let to families. Here there are no flowers or fountains.

To the Westerner the place seems impossibly crowded. Floor space is allotted in proportion to the number of people in the family. In the case of our worker there is not likely to be more than eight square meters apiece at the most, although more room is given to invalids and members of the artistic and literary professions, whose technical efficiency would be harmed by too much crowding.

Rent in the Soviet Union is determined by income and economic position, not by the quarters occupied. It amounts to very little, and in the case of many employes of the State the sum paid as rent is merely nominal. Even intellectual workers seldom pay more than \$15 a month, while our representative worker may pay as little as \$5, or even \$2, a month.

There may be a servant in the house, however, even for workers who have little more of this world's goods than the worker we have described. A secretary or a teacher who is earning 150 rubles a month finds it more pleasant and more economical to hire a servant at 45 rubles a month than to give up her professional work and attend to her household. The writer has more than once seen the scorn of the Russian proletarian women for the wives of American specialists in Russia who are not sufficiently familiar with the management of servants. "We have never in our lives been without a maid," said a stenographer. "I cannot understand what the lady means when she says that in America she keeps no servants."

To have three modest rooms for a family of six in one of the new workers' houses is as good an arrangement as one can find in the overcrowded Moscow of today. In these buildings the rooms are well-planned and arranged, and although the quarters seem crowded, as a material background of daily life they are not far different from the flats of working-class families in Berlin or London or

New York. In the old houses the crowded home life of Moscow is at its worst. Where the big rooms of another era have not yet been subdivided there is an almost intolerable mixing of human beings. Ordinarily the different families quartered in the same house or apartment cannot even have their own kitchens. They must cook in the common kitchen, on an oil stove, surrounded by litter, amid constant interfamily recriminations.

Soviet Russia wants to change all this—to send people to eat in community kitchens, on the assumption that the food will be more economically prepared and that the wives of the coming millennium, in which men and women alike are at work in the factory and in the fields, will have little time in their homes for such tasks as the cooking of food. Their children will be cared for in the common nurseries and their food prepared in the central kitchens.

After exploring some of the factory kitchens in Moscow, the writer can testify that the food is cheap and good. As a rule one can get a big bowl of steaming soup, an even bigger plateful of one of the favorite vegetable dishes, excellently cooked, and unlimited quantities of bread for a little more than 25 cents. But the long waiting in line with knife, fork and spoon and the constant pushing and hurrying make it no satisfactory substitute for the leisurely meals in the homes of hospitable working-class families.

Through the greater part of these last months the Russian worker's dinner at the end of his day's work—the first hearty meal he has had since breakfast—has been very simple. Except for bread, food products have tended to be scarce in the State and cooperative shops, and prices of vegetables and fruits in the private markets have usually been forbiddingly high. On a good many evenings this last year the worker has supped plainly on great chunks of black bread and endless glasses of tea. Since last Spring the tea has been taken without

lemon, for fruit, too, vanished from the markets. On better days there has been cabbage soup and *kasha*. On the best days of all, Ivan's wife, temporarily in funds, has been to the private markets a little away from the centre of the city and has brought home cucumbers and carrots and cheese. Long ago she grew pessimistic about waiting in the lines of housewives before the government stores; meat days and butter days came around too infrequently and the lines were too long. She learned that the day's tickets on her monthly ration card were likely to yield her little except bread.

To the foreigner visiting Moscow in 1930 these long queues, standing patiently before the shops, were the factor which differentiated the Russian capital from the cities of the West. Hour after hour, with superhuman patience, the women stood. But of late the problem of the line has been growing less acute, and by Autumn the rationed commodities were no longer acutely needed for the millions working in the country on the grain harvest. The workers in the cities were given a greater variety of food, and the lines shortened.

Food remains the costly item among the Soviet worker's family expenses. According to budgets of workers in the metal, textile, chemical and printing industries of Leningrad, recently published by the Soviet Government, food absorbs nearly one-half of the family funds. The figures follow:

	Per Cent
Food	46
Clothing	15
Rent	7
Liquor	4
Social and political expenses.....	4
Cultural and educational expenses..	3
Miscellaneous	21

The ordinary worker may be full of zeal for the ascetic ideals of the revolution, but unless he is a member of the Communist party he is almost sure to take pains to get his daily portion of vodka. Extreme Communists must, of course, show restraint and

control in all things. But our worker is no Puritan. He demands his vodka so effectively that in the budget described above the drink bill amounts to 4 per cent of the total expenditures. The lines waiting before the vodka shops (*Gas-spirit* or "State-spirit" stores) are the longest and most vocal of all the queues.

The Soviet Government has tried prohibition and abandoned it to such a degree that vodka is now the central treasury's most important source of revenue. At the same time the anti-vodka campaign goes on, and ardent Communists continue to spread doctrines of abstinence. Workers are confronted many times a day with bright-colored posters illustrating the anti-alcoholism movement. One of them, excellently drawn, shows the troubled face of a child who is holding back his father's hand with its glass of vodka. The child is pleading, "Daddy, don't drink!" Another shows the idealized Soviet workman, armed with the hammer of the "cultural revolution," smashing a vodka bottle. The government claims that as a result of the "cultural" campaign against excessive drinking less vodka is now being consumed.

Clothing, too, has grown scarce and expensive in this last year. In the Summer of 1930 the price of women's street shoes reached \$25 a pair, and men's high boots for Winter as much as \$100. Neither new shoes nor repairs on shoes could be obtained except by an order from the worker's office or factory. In September, when anxiety on account of the coming Winter had become acute, the government promised the people that every one of them should have a pair of shoes or boots before the end of the year. At the same time it set up a new department for mending and making over old clothes.

At times the government has appeared to deny the existence of the shortages. In August of this year the writer was told by an official of the State Planning Commission of the

Ukraine that "there can be no shortage in Soviet Russia, for we work under the five-year plan. Everything is controlled and proceeds according to order." "Then why," we asked, "does it appear, as it did this morning, that workers who go into the clothing shops of this city and ask for shirts are told that there are none?" "You do not understand," replied the official. "It is simply that our workers have not yet been trained to ask for the right kind of goods. Under the plan there can be no shortage of the right kind of goods for people to buy."

However that may be, this Winter the worker and his family have a real problem in keeping warm. In the end they spend little for clothes, partly because they cannot find the things they need in the shops and partly because clothes are not an index of social position in Soviet Russia. There is no incentive for this family to try to be better dressed than their neighbors. In fact, they may actually come under suspicion of graft if they spend much money on clothes. The young daughter may perhaps yield a little to the habits of Europe. She uses lipstick and rouge and powder in the fashion of the French girls whose pictures she sees in the magazines she buys at the corner kiosk. But her clothes are cheap, and, except for a frock or two, dull in color.

With it all the family may have a radio and may listen, in the midst of the evening's clutter of children and clothes and dishes and food, to a symphony concert or a speech on the way to achieve electrification of the Soviet Union. Easier still, the radio programs come in over the telephone. As Ivan takes down the receiver to call his cousin's house he is greeted by a blast of music or a talk on punctuality in getting to the office.

Russians have little recreation in the American sense of the term. One worker with whom the writer was talking on this subject said reprovingly: "We do not have recreation.

You must remember that the use of our leisure time is cultural."

One of the goals which the Soviet system has already achieved is the shortening of working hours and the provision of more leisure. For the most part the worker spends his new leisure in workers' clubs or in parks of culture and rest, and to our minds these hours are neither light nor gay. The workers' clubs have "circles" which one can select according to taste: "Circles for the liquidation of illiteracy," "Marxist circles," "foreign language circles," circles for chess and checkers, and dramatic circles. These last are usually ambitious, with good stages, great halls, paid directors and excellent performances.

In the Summer the worker goes to the parks of culture and rest. In these parks are gardens of flowers—rare in the utilitarian Soviet Union—and every kind of outdoor athletic opportunity. Sport of all kinds is popular in the Communist State, for the government is arguing by word and deed that the true Communist must be healthy in body as well as ardent in mind. He must not try for athletic records—that is a capitalist error—but work for strength and efficiency. "Build Up Your Body Through Sports," say the great red banners.

Outside the clubs and the parks the chief diversions are the movies, the theatres and demonstrations. The moving picture theatres offer uniformly films which tell of the glory of the revolution, the conquest of the factory and farm through machinery, and the iniquities of capitalism. The theatre is almost uniformly excellent, and there is still a thrill for the worker in his rough blouse, with his trade union ticket at reduced rates, who, after leaving his overshoes and coat at the entrance, goes to sit in a box once occupied by nobility.

Several times a year come the big demonstrations, with music and banners and the march through the Red Square. For the worker there is noth-

ing dull in the long wait in line in the working-class quarters before his section gets its orders to move. There are already the banners and the sense of being in a procession, and soon there will be the music and the fun of marching.

Beer halls and vodka drinking are taboo to the loyal worker. In this last Summer, when there were few ways to spend money on account of the commodity shortages, one of the chief recreations was riding around the city of Moscow in a taxi until the rubles gave out.

There are no longer the church services to occupy the spiritual energies of leisure hours, because the churches, although still open, are dismal and empty except for the presence of a few older women. The ordinary worker seems to have little interest in conventional religious ceremonies. The issue may have been lively in January and February, 1930, when the closing of the churches was linked up with the drive against the kulak and the collectivization of agriculture, but now it is the five-year plan or credits from America about which most Russians question the foreigner.

This may seem a tame and serious life. But the hours inside the Soviet factory—there is the thrill for the Russian worker. The heightened interest does not lie in the processes themselves, and, aside from a passion for tractor driving, the Russian worker has not yet found the American's interest in technique. It lies in the sense of power and the share in administration.

Labor, after all, is the pivot of the Bolshevik revolution. The crux of man's life in Soviet Russia, the centre of his interest, remains in the place where he works. He finds his working hours strenuous and full of excitement. Day by day, in accordance with the five-year plan, more machines are set up in the factories. Week by week the processes are speeded up. "Socialist competition" and "shock brigades" have brought back an element

which for a time was lost. And there are always the meetings in the lunch hour; turbulent meetings denouncing carelessness in turning out lights or in leaving machines badly cleaned.

At the end of the day there is school; perhaps to learn simply to read and write, or a foreign language, or technical matters. And perhaps there is still another meeting, to inquire into why raw materials have been coming into the factory so slowly. All in all, it is a thrilling life, and it gives a sense of power.

The workers' calendar is changed, and his Sunday and his week-end have vanished. The new calendar has days of five different colors, one after another. If the worker is on the blue set, his holiday comes every fifth day, when that color appears. Other workers are on the yellow, the red, the green and the brown. Thus the continuous operation of the factory is assured. Ivan is not wholly satisfied with the new week, for there are no more family holidays together. He is on the blue, his wife is on the red, and his eldest daughter is on the brown. So when his lonely holiday comes, Ivan is a little bored, and perhaps he reaches for the vodka bottle.

The workers' wage lies somewhere near 70 rubles (\$35) a month. According to the official figures, the average monthly wages of workers covered by social insurance in 1929 was 69.7 rubles. This is a small amount in view of the high price level in Soviet Russia, but there should be added the value of the services which he gets free of charge. It is reckoned that from a fifth to a third of the amount of his wage is given him in the form of social insurance premiums, with the result that whatever sickness or other misfortune he may meet in the course of his life is covered. He has little to fear from unemployment, because every man or woman in Soviet Russia who can handle a tool is reasonably sure of a job; if, by chance, unemployment should come, the unemployment fund will care for him.

The Rulers of America

By NORMAN S. B. GRAS

Professor of Business History, Harvard University

JAMES W. GERARD, former Ambassador to Germany, set forth recently a list of business men who exert great political power, indeed, who even rule the country. Politicians and diplomats come and go, while business men keep on controlling affairs from behind the scenes. Gerard began with a list of forty such men, then extended it to fifty-nine, and finally to sixty-four. With the exact number of influential business men we are not concerned, but the whole underlying thought is of vast importance.

Gerard is a lawyer who has seen service as a judge, an Ambassador and as chairman of the Democratic campaign committee of New York. It may be that he was thinking of the influence in the appointment of judges and Ambassadors exerted by the rich men who make contributions to party funds. However that may be, Gerard has crudely but effectively illustrated a theory that has been much discussed in one form or other for the last three generations. This is economic determinism. It has been said that the propagandist develops an idea which is taken up by professors in the next generation and which reaches the rank and file in the third generation. Certainly it is a long way from Marx and Engels in 1848 to Gerard in 1930.

Socialists, however, did not generally make the mistake of thinking that it was the individual business man who controlled affairs. They saw quite clearly that it was the system that counted. To that system the individ-

ual, even the outstanding leader, bowed his head. The system that has developed, first in Europe and then in America, is based upon private property. The individual ownership of land and goods grew up in the towns of the Middle Ages and was fostered by the study of Roman law which had itself seen the light in the towns of the Ancient World. So long as small towns were dominant there was relatively little difference in the wealth of business men, but when towns began to grow, large fortunes arose and with these fortunes came great power. Even in the Middle Ages there were the rich and powerful family of the Medici in Florence and the mighty Fuggers of Augsburg. But with the concentration in large metropolitan centres, business grew in size, wealth and influence. Big business came upon the scene. Groups of entrepreneurs came to control trade and traffic, banking and natural resources. A few individuals guided these groups. In New York it has been held for nearly a generation that the two dominant groups were formed under the leadership of the Rockefellers and the Morgans, respectively. Though there is a large measure of truth in this view, it can easily be exaggerated.

Certainly no country has ever had so many metropolitan centres as America and none has ever had so many rich men. In the big commercial city are the manufacturers, merchants, railroad men, insurance leaders and bankers who make the most effective use of labor, capital and

management that the world has known. The system is complicated and not without fault, but it works so well that America has risen to easy supremacy under it. Of course, America is regarded as the land of Mammon by many Europeans and perhaps it was while Gerard was in Germany or Great Britain that the idea of the importance of wealth came to his attention. Certainly there is in Europe a distorted notion of the position occupied by wealth in the United States.

In England the class of business men is balanced by other classes, notably the landed aristocracy, the Church, the bench and bar and the intelligentsia. In America our class situation is somewhat different. Of course, it was not long ago that good Americans used to regard it as heresy to say that there were any classes—all people were thought of as belonging to one big family of Americans. This has never really been the case and certainly today there are a laboring class, a number of professional groups, and a growing intelligentsia. The last-named wields power through journals and books out of all proportion to its membership. But it has frequently been urged that in America business is in the saddle and rides with high head. In short, American business is regarded as the dominant influence, the ideals of business tending to override all other considerations. "It pays to advertise" is extended to "it pays to be honest" and "it pays to keep clean!"

But there is something very crude in a conception of business as an entity in America. Europeans may think of business as a person, a single individual that makes Liberty now raise her hand high, now turn down both thumbs on human considerations. In reality, there are many classes of business men. It is fundamental to differentiate between the classes and the system and ideals for which they stand.

At one pole is the large creditor class; at the other the small debtor

class. Throughout American national history there has been this division. The large creditor class has been made up of merchants, common carriers, manufacturers and bankers. This class is supported by a growing group of commercial lawyers and by students of economic affairs who see the advantages that come from large business units and stable organizations. The class itself tends to glide off into the group of large investors, the so-called capitalist class, the owners of corporations large and small. To be sure, these corporations may themselves be large borrowers, but their owners are none the less creditors so long as the corporation is solvent. It is obvious that the distinguishing mark of this capitalist class is its surplus. The individual creditors accumulate through ability, luck or unscrupulousness; they plan, save, venture and accumulate.

The small debtors are just as much business men as the large creditors. The American farmer has always bought and sold, and never so much as now, while the small retailer has been with us from the first. The petty manufacturer is losing ground, but he survives as the owner of a repair shop. This class is eager to get ahead, but it lacks the capacity, the luck or the unscrupulousness necessary for success. Although it is tending to slip into the class of workingmen, it still fights hard by means of business men's associations and the ballot. While the large creditor class is in the main content, the small debtor class wants a great deal of favorable legislation such as free homesteads and tax exemption.

Although with such a distinction we come a little nearer to the truth, actually we have not gone far enough. The two groups have peculiarities within their own ranks. In the large creditor class, most manufacturers want high tariff protection, while many bankers prefer a freer kind of trade. In the small debtor class the farmers fight to exclude the middle-

man, and the small retailers struggle to maintain their position, even to the point of opposing parcel post and chain stores.

Most people think of business as big business. To it they concede something good and against it they make serious charges. Honesty forces even the admirer of big business to admit many blemishes. But a study of business history seems to show that the faults of big business are the faults of small business writ large. These unethical or dishonest practices are displayed currently, recorded permanently, recalled frequently and reformed hopefully. Yet not a few observers discern in big business the most promising leadership in social progress.

In speaking of business as a unit we err, and in speaking of business conditions as if they had not changed, we stray still further. We can come much nearer to the truth by dividing American history into periods during which the fortunes of the various classes of business rose and fell.

In the years 1781-1792 big business attained great political success and reached the dizzy height of our first marked inflation. It is a well-defended thesis that capitalists, ship operators and merchants were eager for a stronger Constitution. Among the fathers of the American Federal Constitution who were more or less influenced by material considerations have been put George Washington, Robert Morris, Elbridge Gerry, John Dickinson and many others. From the victory of a strong Constitution of indirect voting and checks and balances, the leaders of this group turned to the establishment of the first Bank of the United States. They had already formed three commercial banks, the Bank of North America in 1781, the Bank of New York and the Massachusetts Bank in 1784. All these were stout towers of defense for the larger creditor class. The pinnacle of its early success came in 1791 and 1792, but the crash that occurred in New

York ended what, even then, had seemed a new era. William Duer was the arch speculator upon whose swollen head the financial storm broke. Government securities and bank stocks tumbled, but prosperity continued at a somewhat reduced rate for some years longer. In the public eye the outstanding business leader was Alexander Hamilton, a mercantilist statesman rather than a business man.

Hardly had the Constitution of 1787 been completed and its acceptance fairly assured, when a reaction set in that led to the first ten amendments of the Constitution (1791) which seemed to give to the poor—our small debtor class—the protection which the large creditors had forgotten in their constitutional deliberations. From this time on, that is, from about 1791 or 1792 to the Civil War, the small debtor class gained in strength. The franchise was made more liberal in the various States. Laws favorable to debtors were passed, as were laws giving land to settlers and to veterans. Banks for the poor man were established, banks which emitted easy money with which the debtor could pay off his obligations. It is almost time to say that tariff laws were kept from doing much more than providing revenues. This was the time of William Gray and Ebenezer Francis of Boston, of Stephen Girard of Philadelphia and of John Jacob Astor of New York. About the local influence of such men there is, of course, no question, but the political star of the small man was in the ascendancy. It is thought that Astor was a man of power in the community. The story of his having bribed Governor Cass to be allowed to sell liquor to the Indians is probably false, but it is probably true that his influence with Gallatin, to whom he had loaned money, helped to secure the very special privilege of sending a ship to China just after the embargo act had gone into effect.

From about 1861 to 1887 the man of big business came again into his own. The gentry of the South had lost

its influence upon public affairs. Great gains were possible during the Civil War and in the construction of railroads after the war. In this period big business suffered all the temptations of adolescence; its heroes were Daniel Drew, James Fisk and Jay Gould. It serves no useful purpose to call them liars and thieves, but certainly they were pirates who knew no ethical code. There is no need to whitewash these three musketeers, but the temptations were really great and the example of political corruption was daily before them. Local legislatures could be bought by the highest bidder, as could the State judges. Gould and Fisk even tried to corner the gold supply in 1869 by persuading President Grant, who was innocent of business methods and situations, to have the treasury withhold its regular sale of gold upon the market. Grant was told that in this way Europeans would demand not the gold which, being scarce, would be dear, but wheat then coming to the Atlantic ports. This was to help the farmer and incidentally Gould's Erie Railroad, which would carry the wheat in competition with the water carriers. When Grant learned the truth, he ordered the government's gold to be put upon the market, thereby ending the corner. But the episode helped turn people away from big business gamblers and Gould failed later in an effort to make Blaine President. Even in this golden age of unlicensed business, the leaders were not all powerful.

Real progress was made in the period 1861-1887 in the direction of consolidation, especially of railroads which could operate so much more efficiently as big units. But such a consolidator and operator as Cornelius Vanderbilt, master of the water-level route from New York to Chicago, had no thought of passing on the benefits to passengers and shippers. He watered the stock and still made his railroad pay dividends to the shareholders. Rebating in favor of certain shippers and discrimination against

certain centres were common practices in railroading, and the oil company or lumber dealer, big enough to bargain with a railroad, could undersell a small competitor.

From 1887 to 1917 conditions changed. Although Granger agitations had been strong in the individual States in the 1870s, it was only in 1887 that the interstate commerce act was passed, putting an end to some unfair practices of big business. The Sherman act of 1890 was followed by many legal suits against trusts. The events of 1913 and 1914 reached the climax of the struggle of the small debtor class against the large creditor class when, thanks to the ambitions of Theodore Roosevelt, the "new freedom" of Woodrow Wilson won in the elections. The tariff was reduced, the Clayton act passed, and the Federal Trade Commission set up. The last named was one of the most hated agencies in the eyes of big business. Under it such occasional inquiries as the Hughes insurance investigation of 1905 and the Pujo committee inquiry of 1913 might henceforth take place at any time.

Although big business was being hard hit for its crimes of an earlier generation, it was by no means powerless. Mark Hanna succeeded in electing McKinley and the highest tariffs were for a while in effect. It was possible for a sugar trust to defraud the government of millions by bribing the customs officials. Amends were made by the sugar trust concerned, but to this day it is not certain whether lower or higher officials in the company were at fault. During this period, also, the Supreme Court became an inner circle of corporation lawyers. It was to be expected that the men with training in business, which was becoming the chief issue, should be appointed to the most important posts. In 1912 Carnegie admitted that he had written to President McKinley in favor of appointing Knox as Attorney General, Knox having been an attorney of the Carnegie

Steel Company. Public confidence in Federal justice in business cases had been much shattered, although the appointment of Brandeis to the Supreme Court was a concession to the small man.

It is a suggestive fact that President Wilson, who was elected to keep us out of war, was the instrument for bringing us in. In like manner, he was elected for the first term to defend the small man of business against the large; but in reality the war régime under his leadership was the most effective demonstration of the superiority of big business that had up to that time been vouchsafed to the American people. By the circumstances of war the new era of big business, from 1917 to the present, was ushered in. Rich men, benevolent in endowing universities and colleges, hospitals and churches, changed their policy, under the leadership of Theodore Vail and others, from "the public be damned" to "the public be pleased." They introduced efficiency and rationality into their methods and under the leadership of Henry Ford, much hated at first, they swung to the policy of high wages and low prices. Stock was more widely held, notably in the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. This seemed to promise, at least at first, a relief to the small and budding capitalist; big business was no longer necessarily bad, and the existence of good trusts was conceded. The friendly efforts of such leaders as John D. Rockefeller Jr. and Henry S. Dennison were appreciated by some of the students of labor problems. Many of the older type of business men were coming to admit that they had held unsocial attitudes and used unsocial methods. On the other hand, some of the policies of big business men which had been condemned in the earlier period were at this time justified. The older J. Pierpont Morgan and Charles S. Mellen had tried to consolidate railroads and other services in New Eng-

land pretty much as many people would prefer today. The policy of J. J. Hill to unite the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, which was frustrated by the Supreme Court, is even now being favored by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

What the future has in store is not clear. Whether we are about to witness another swing in public opinion remains to be seen. There is a growing realization that the efficiency of many big business units in production is almost matched by their inefficiency in ways of doing a lot of little things which in the aggregate are of importance. The widespread ownership of stocks instead of being a help to big business may prove to be a source of weakness if the holders of certain classes of stock come to feel that management has been unfairly divorced from ownership. The oil scandals and the Shearer case have prepared the way for reaction. The growing syndicalization of newspapers is alarming to many. The high tariff is thought to indicate high greed. The engrossment of water power and the consolidation of public services in a few concerns are held to threaten the consumer of gas and electricity. The stock market crash of 1929 has brought hardship to many and stands as a reminder of the fallacy of business which went on capitalizing future prospects rather than present earnings. Chain stores and chain banks threaten the middle class, every part of which many believe to exist by divine right. A long-time depression, brought about by an inadequate gold supply or by post-war economic reaction, may turn the voter and the legislator against big business.

Big business has been in public favor for short periods only—following three great wars. Generally it has been the anvil, not the hammer, of circumstances. Although it may have nominated consuls and Ambassadors, Cabinet members and justices, it has been buffeted about by national politics and international conditions.

Does the Death Penalty Curb Crime?

Below are printed opposing views on capital punishment by the two leading American authorities that were invited recently by a Select Committee of the British House of Commons to present the results of American experience on the question of abolishing the death penalty.

I

By MARCUS A. KAVANAGH

Judge of the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois

ALL the civilized world hopes for a time when the gallows may be taken down, when life imprisonment shall be no longer needed and when our prisons shall be turned into hospitals and factories. Has that time arrived yet?

A general answer "Yes" or "No" cannot be given. There are some countries and some States in our Union where the answer must be "Yes"; in others "No." Although there are among our States many great differences in the character and environment of the population, in all our variant communities, the problem narrows down to: Does capital punishment deter from crime? The effect in Canada and in the United States I have seriously noted and studied through many years, and I unhesitatingly assert that there is no large city or thickly settled State where the death penalty, if even half way enforced, has not prevented murder. Even when timidly and rarely resorted to, the result at times has been immediate and striking. Take the city of Chicago. The executions of assassins, even in small proportion to those whose crimes deserved it, has invariably seen an immediate decrease in the number of killings.

In 1928 there was no execution in Chicago by the law, but 498 evil-minded persons put to death that many law-abiding, innocent victims. Early in 1929 four assassins received the extreme penalty and the murder rate fell from 498 to 401. No other influence than the fate of four assassins intervened to account for the sudden and marked drop. There was a murder in Chicago every day for several years, and not a single execution; then two young desperadoes were hanged. Not another murder took place for four weeks, and only three in six weeks. Is it unfair to claim that twenty-five to thirty law-abiding citizens are alive today because a jury was merciful enough to the public to condemn the guilty?

Then there were only two or three executions a year for the next two years. In a little while the city forgot, and the murder rate leaped fiercely, so that in 1919 there were 330 homicides and 100 persons were awaiting trial for that crime. Suddenly the judges and juries awoke. In 1920, when 14 death sentences were imposed and 11 assassins executed, the number of homicides fell from 334 to 190; in the next year there were 14 executions

and only 194 homicides, a falling off in two years of 376 homicides. Juries, by enforcing the death penalty, probably saved from assassination more than 400 human beings, and, what is more important, kept 400 men or women from being murderers. The third year, 1922, is more significant. There was but one execution and the murder rate rose to 228.

The sensitiveness of the murderer in the face of death for his misdeeds is reflected by any professional felon when, as a prisoner, he faces the power of the law threatening his life. And those who contend that the death penalty does not restrain the assassin forget that the predatory murderer is the boldest, craftiest, most desperate and most hardened of all offenders. For him is required a deterrent more powerful than is needed for the ordinary lawbreaker.

Perhaps no more convincing proof can be found than the contrast between Detroit, lying along the boundary river, and the two merging cities of Windsor and Sandwich on the Canadian side. Detroit and her suburbs claim a population of 1,600,000; Windsor and Sandwich, with their suburbs, perhaps 110,000. Behind these two latter places stretches a country offering few towns and easy avenues of escape.

Detroit has risen rapidly in the past ten years. Her wealth is very great, her industries many and vast, her population exactly of a class with New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and all other large industrial American cities. Between her and the two Canadian neighbors there is easy and rapid access. Every day thousands pass from the Canadian side for regular employment in Detroit and thousands pass over into Windsor.

The general inhabitants of the two cities differ in no wise in manners, customs, appearance or general characteristics. Windsor and its people have pretty homes, banks, jewelry shops and other opportunities for the marauder. There are no difficult ob-

structions for the Detroit robber and murderer to overcome in his journey across the river. Across from Windsor and Sandwich on the American side are the towns of River Rouge and Ecross, not much harder of access.

The Canadians have capital punishment and apply it. They even give the lash to robbers and attackers of women. During the past two years, 1928 and 1929, there occurred 485 homicides in Detroit and not one in Windsor. In addition, 97 others took place in River Rouge, Ecross, Wyandotte and other Detroit suburbs. There were five robberies in Windsor last year, while more than 2,100 were perpetrated in Detroit and its suburbs. In Windsor all five of the criminals were caught and punished.

Boston has had capital punishment for 300 years. It is the only large American city which enforces to a marked extent the law concerning deliberate murder. The homicide rate in Detroit for 1929 was 18.6 per 100,000 inhabitants; in Boston it was 2.9. Boston had 23 homicides last year; Detroit 257.

In New York City, during 1928, there were 401 homicides with no executions. In 1929 the number rose to 425. There were 122 persons indicted for the homicides in 1928; of these 40 were convicted and, as has been said, none executed. And yet New York does on rare occasions execute its assassins. There is always twice the chance for an assassin to meet his fate there than exists in Chicago, and New York's homicide rate is less than half Chicago's.

Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, the eminent and capable statistician, himself a foe to the death penalty, makes this statement concerning conditions in the United States and Canada:

No contrast could be more startling than this of a neighboring Dominion with conditions practically the same as throughout the United States. During the three years 1926-28 there was only 1 homicide death in the city of Quebec, and that occurred during the year 1927. In the entire Province of Quebec in 1928 there were 27 homicide deaths,

which, on the basis of the estimated population, is equivalent to about 1 per 100,000.

According to the preliminary official vital statistics of Canada for 1928 the number of homicide deaths in the entire Dominion was 124. On the basis of 9,240,000 population this gives a rate of 1.3 per 100,000. For England and Wales for 1928 the homicide death rate was only 0.5 per 100,000, or precisely the same as ten years ago. For the United States registration area for 1927 the homicide death rate was 8.7; for 1928, 8.8. These are strictly comparable countries, in which human life is therefore infinitely more secure than in our own.

Whether the death penalty lessens crime is forcibly answered by the experience of our Western States during the days of their first organization. Desperadoes ruled California in 1851 and 1852. They stood guard at the voting places and made elections a farce. Their own kind filled the offices and composed the police force. Murder became so common an occurrence in San Francisco as to excite no interest. At last the law-abiding citizens awoke. They formed companies of twenty men each, arrested the leaders of the desperadoes, took them to a big hall, tried them one afternoon and hanged four the following morning. They warned all other gunmen and evil characters to quit the city within twenty-four hours. In two weeks San Francisco was as safe and as free from crime as London is today.

In 1853 Virginia City was known as the wildest and most lawless town in the United States. A man's life and property depended on how quickly he could draw his pistol. The law-abiding citizens quietly organized and hanged 24 desperadoes. The next month saw Virginia City a model of peacefulness and safety.

In 1890 a large gang of alien criminals ruled by terror the city of New Orleans. Organized into powerful and merciless secret societies, their assassinations, tortures and extortions terrorized the town. The courts seemed unable to convict for want of evidence. For a witness to testify against the gang meant death. On Oct. 15, 1890, they killed David Hennessey,

the Chief of Police. In February, 1891, five were tried, but all escaped because no witnesses would dare implicate the defendants. In March, 1892, eleven other persons were in prison awaiting the farce of a trial. A mass meeting of citizens was held and after discussing the intolerable situation they marched in open procession to the prison, with the most respected citizens in the lead. They opened the prison doors and shot the eleven prisoners to death. It was two years before New Orleans saw any more serious crime.

During my thirty-two years on the bench in Chicago and my three years in Iowa, I have had many killers come before me. I have yet to see one who did not struggle with all his resources to escape the death penalty. The murderer has yet to appear in my court who, when he had the choice between prison for life and hanging, did not clutch at life imprisonment.*

How many lives are saved, how many vengeful persons have gone stainless into old age only through fear of the extreme retribution, no one knows. Yet at times we can get a glimpse into the secret depths of a murderer's soul. For example, there is the well known case of Isaac Sawtelle, who determined to slay his brother Hiram. Fearful of the consequences, he endeavored to lure his brother from Massachusetts through Vermont and New Hampshire, in all of which States the law provided the death penalty for murder, to Maine, where only life imprisonment was to be feared. Unfortunately for Isaac, he mistook the boundary line and killed his brother in the State of New Hampshire, where he was duly executed for his crime. He confessed before his death that it was his fear of the death penalty that influenced this terrible journey from Boston.

On Oct. 10, 1926, a man named William Coffee determined to kill his

*Two months ago, in St. Louis, a man condemned to death protested against having his sentence commuted to life imprisonment.

wife in order to escape prosecution for bigamy. According to his own confession, he took her from the State of Iowa, where capital punishment exists, into Wisconsin, where life imprisonment is the extreme penalty, and killed her there.

A man named Meiko Pretrovich went from Pittsburgh, Pa., where the electric chair is sometimes used, to Detroit, which has no death penalty, and there killed his wife. He confessed to the police that he wanted to slay her in Pennsylvania but took her into Michigan, where it was safer.

Capital punishment does not always deter, nor can any other threat of suffering always overcome the awful impulse. But I have observed that the cruelest natures are most careful of their own physical comfort. The nearer a man is to the brute the more he fears the lash.

In crimes like burglary or robbery the perpetrator in his plan for escape usually contemplates the possible slaying of any one who gets in the way. Thus, anything which deters from murder must also decrease robbery, burglary and other offenses which might invoke murder. Therefore the number of violent crimes rises in almost direct proportion to the number of homicides in nearly every locality.

Eight States of the forty-eight have abolished the death penalty for murder. They are Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Dakota and Wisconsin. Michigan still retains the death penalty for treason, Rhode Island and North Dakota for a life convict killing a guard or other convict. The abolition of the death penalty by the Legislature of these two States was merely a gesture made by purely agricultural States when the population was small, the farms scattered and there were no large cities. Kansas, a mere frontier State, abolished it in 1872, when there had not been an execution for twenty years; Maine in 1887; Michigan in 1847, when she had a population

of 450,000; Minnesota in 1911; North Dakota in 1915; Rhode Island in 1852; South Dakota in 1915; Wisconsin in 1913. Each one of these States, except Michigan, is today comparatively sparsely settled, with a homogeneous people. Wisconsin is controlled and settled by law-abiding Germans; Minnesota and North and South Dakota by Scandinavians.

Eight other States abolished capital punishment, but the change in penalty was followed by so swift a surge of crime that the scaffold was put up again. They were:

	Abolished.	Restored.
Arizona	1913	1919
Colorado	1897	1901
Iowa	1872	1878
Maine	1872	*1882
Missouri	1915	1917
Oregon	1914	1920
Tennessee	1915	1917
Vermont	1911	1913
Washington	1913	1919

*Abolished again in 1887.

Two years ago, when the question came to a vote in the Michigan Legislature, both Senate and House by more than two to one voted to restore the death penalty. The Governor vetoed the bill, however.

The statement that there are 10,000 murders annually in the United States is, of course, not true. They should be called homicides, and not every homicide is murder. Killings in self-defense, in defense of home and family, shootings by police officers, are homicides; some one has enumerated fifty-one ways of taking human life included in the category of homicide. In Chicago, of the 401 homicides reported not more than half were murders. Thirty per cent of these arose out of conditions created by the prohibition law; that is, nearly all were outlaws killing outlaws.

The League for the Abolition of Capital Punishment claims that the homicide rate for the States without capital punishment is lower than for those which retain the death penalty. Taking the country at large, that is true, for the eight States without the

death penalty, as has been pointed out, are agricultural States of comparatively small and scattered population. To compare the crime-breeding conditions in the Western States, North and South Dakota, Wisconsin and Kansas, or the quietest of the New England States like Maine, with the densely populated States of New York, Illinois, Indiana and Ohio is to convey no information at all.

But there remains a perfectly fair and just means of comparison. Every State which has abolished the death penalty, except Wisconsin, has adjoining it another State, its exact counterpart in social, economic and racial conditions where the death penalty exists. Between these it is reasonable to make comparisons. Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont are as nearly alike in respect to population, religion and general character as can be imagined. Maine has a population equal to the other two, but spread out over nearly twice their combined area. In 1927 (the last official report) Maine, with no death penalty, showed 15 homicides, New Hampshire and Vermont, with capital punishment, 3 each. The rate per 100,000 in Maine was about 2, in New Hampshire 0.7, in Vermont 0.9. In 1928, Portland, Me., had a rate of 5.1—twice as high as her neighbor, Manchester, N. H., with a larger population.

. Much is made of the low rate in Kansas, where there is no capital punishment. But no comparison is offered with Nebraska, adjoining on the north, which has the death penalty and which is exactly like Kansas in character of population except for the sometimes turbulent city of Omaha. The homicide rate in Kansas was reported 6.1, in Nebraska 3.4. During 1929 there were 81 killings in Kansas and 48 in Nebraska. Kansas City, Kan., with a population of 118,000, last year had 18 murders, or a homicide rate of 15.2.

From all these facts I am convinced that capital punishment, in all except the rural States which have settled,

homogeneous races, is justifiable, and that everywhere it protects the innocent and law-abiding from violence.

Those who wish to abolish the penalty overlook the nature of the person who deliberately robs another of his life. The law cares not so much for its effect upon the criminal after the deed has been accomplished, as for the effect on the decision of the potential criminal. It intends to save another from becoming a murderer. No one will deny that if the execution of today stops a murder tomorrow, it is justifiable; that if one of two persons has to die it is more just that the criminal should be the one. If the execution of ten willful, deliberate murderers will save the life of one law-abiding citizen, the infliction of the death penalty is justified.

Life imprisonment has not deterred in the United States. As a matter of fact, capital punishment has been practically abolished in most of the States. It is so rarely inflicted as almost to encourage the robber to kill his victim rather than let him live to testify in court. That is why so many robberies in the United States registration area are accompanied by cold-blooded murders. Out of the 10,000 homicides committed in 1928 there resulted only 132 executions. Of these 65 were of white men and 67 negroes. Florida with its 485 homicides executed 8 criminals; Georgia with 533 executed 5; Kentucky with 426 put to death 3; Louisiana with 418 put to death 4; Illinois with 756 executed 13; New York with 635 executed 14; Massachusetts with 85 executed 6, and so on through the list.

Life imprisonment in the United States does not mean life imprisonment—except in exceptional cases. Norman Hapgood, a few years ago, estimated that the average time spent in a Kansas prison under sentence of life imprisonment was four years. In Michigan it is twelve years, and that probably is a high average for the country. Will any one claim that it is a sufficient deterrent for murder?

John H. Dunham of the Committee on Capital Punishment in his report to the Michigan Bar Association two years ago describes the situation under the life imprisonment rule:

The economic waste of our present system is beyond comprehension. One thousand one hundred and forty-three breadwinners taken from the support of their families in Detroit within ten years, shot down, in most cases, without a chance for their lives. Many a family has been left destitute and many a child has been compelled to leave school in order to help support a widowed mother and her orphaned children. The cause of it all, the killer, is given "life" imprisonment. For a few short years he is supported by the State; he is fed and clothed; he attends concerts and movies; he has books to read and clothes to wear; he can play on the baseball team or sit on the sidelines and root for his favorites; he leads an easy life. In a few short years he is again at liberty, but he is unreformed; without a trade, too lazy to work if he had one; ready to step back into his old ways and pull off a job at his first opportunity.

It is argued that the State has no right to take life because the deed is irrevocable. How about the fate it inflicts on its enemies in battle? What excuse has it to send its own sons to death in its behalf if it has no right to destroy its own citizen enemies? The first and highest duty of a government is to protect the lives of those from whom it may claim their own lives in its defense. No one disputes the right of a private individual to

kill in the defense of his own life or that of his family. The right of a State to take a murderer's life is the same, the right of self-defense exercised in protecting its children.

It is objected also that innocent men have died on the scaffold and will again. Perhaps so. The question remains, What is best for the world at large? As a matter of fact, under present conditions, wrongful convictions have become so rare as to justify no argument. Out of the half million who have entered our prisons during the past ten years not ten were later proved innocent.

England has become the envy of, and a model for, the civilized world. By enforcing the death penalty she has almost emptied her prisons of major felons and almost abolished murder. That nation harbors thousands of dangerous and desperate men, many of them aliens to any traditional reverence for the law. The fact that retribution comes soon and certainly to an offender and that a rope keeps dangling before his eyes stays many a cruel and bloody hand. The scaffold presents an abhorrent sight. The white face of a murdered man being carried into his home presents one many times more terrible. We will have to choose one or the other.

II

By LEWIS A. LAWES

Warden of Sing Sing Prison

THE death penalty does not deter murder. It never did. That is the fact. Legislators know it, judges realize it, many prosecutors admit it, most prison wardens are sure of it. What is more, the wider its application, the more capital laws on our statute books, the greater the necessity for drastic penalties, generally. And yet every effort to abolish capital punishment has been strenuously opposed.

Now, we who favor its repeal are not mere sentimentalists. Nor, on the other hand, are we dyed-in-the-wool literalists who adhere to the discredited "eye for an eye" rule of ancient penology. We believe that the death penalty is the last vestige of bygone punishments which defeated their purpose by their inherent harshness. It is retained only because of timidity toward any alteration in our traditionally accepted rules of procedure

and enforcement. Reasons urged for its retention have been confounded by experience. Not even the most profound advocates of the death penalty would favor its enforcement if convinced that it is not a necessary deterrent. In a large sense the very fact that we are confronted with the homicide problem at all is evidence of the futility of capital punishment. More pointed is the thought that in jurisdictions where the death sentence has been abrogated there has been no overwhelming homicidal wave and no general increase of lawlessness.

Three facts are beyond question:

(1) In the eight States of the Union that have definitely abolished the death penalty, the homicidal rate has not advanced appreciably; (2) There has been no definite abatement of murder in the forty States that retain capital punishment; (3) Neither the imposition of the death sentence nor consequent executions have been followed by a marked falling off in homicide rates.

Michigan is considered debatable ground. The large murder rate in Detroit is often seized upon as an evidence that capital punishment should be restored. Comparisons are made between Detroit and Windsor, across the border, in Canada. The rate for 1929, in Detroit, was 18.6; for Windsor, 3.9. But Detroit is the fourth largest city in the United States, a great industrial centre, where population has doubled in the last decade. Windsor, on the other hand, is a quiet Canadian town with a population of 70,000, almost entirely residential, and is the centre of a large agricultural community. Capital punishment has had as little to do with the comparatively low murder rate in Windsor as has its abolition with the high murder rate in Detroit.

There are scores of cities in the United States with populations equal to or even greater than Windsor that have had no murders in 1929 and some with none for a number of consecutive years. In New York State,

contrary to popular notions, the city with the highest murder rate is not the city of New York but the capital city of Albany. New York's rate is 7.1 per 100,000, Albany's 11.6. Utica, in Central New York, a city of over 100,000, had no murders in 1929. Were the criminals of Utica in greater fear of the electric chair than those of its neighbor, Syracuse, who in the same year committed five murders? Reading, Pa., an industrial centre, with a population of over 115,000, had no murders in 1929. Pennsylvania is a capital punishment State, but that did not deter the 173 citizens in Philadelphia and 64 in Pittsburgh from committing as many murders in each of those cities.

The murder rate in Detroit is deplorably high and doubtless there are many reasons for it. Certainly the abolition of capital punishment has nothing to do with it. Actually the rate for 1929 (257), 18.6, was lower than in 1926, when it was (327) 25.3. Whatever we may think of Detroit's municipal troubles these figures do not indicate an exaggerated homicidal urge, or disregard of human life, because of the absence of the death penalty.

Throughout New England the homicide rate has been consistently low for over ten decades. Maine and Rhode Island, without the death penalty, have had as few murders as the other States that still enforce it. Boston is the metropolis of New England, and within its radius is Charlestown with its electric chair that achieved considerable notoriety a few years ago. Yet Boston in 1928 and 1929 had fifty murders, twenty-seven in 1928 and twenty-three in 1929. Does Boston convict its murderers promptly? Does it execute them with celerity? I am informed on the authority of the Police Department of that city that in 1928 and 1929 there were two convictions for murder in the first degree and only one execution; certainly not an effective record for the death penalty. Other influences than Charles-

town's electric chair are responsible for Boston's low homicide rate. The same influences that prevail in Providence, R. I., a city with a composite population similar to Boston's, but without capital punishment, have steadily reduced its homicide rate from 4.0 in 1926 to 2.8 in 1929.

California is a capital punishment State but in 1928 there were seventy murders in Los Angeles, a rate of 4.7. There were nine first degree convictions and three executions. Did these convictions and executions serve to deter others? Hardly, for in 1929 the rate rose to seventy-seven murders, with a rating of 5.1.

Chicago, we are told, is the crime centre of the universe, but it is surprising to discover that there are thirty-eight cities in the United States with higher homicide rates than Chicago. There are those who have insisted that whenever the judges in Chicago imposed death sentences, followed by executions, the murder rate dropped considerably. As a matter of fact the contrary is true. The following table, furnished by the Chicago Crime Commission, gives the number of homicides, death sentences and executions from 1919 to 1929:

	Homicides.	Death Sentences.	Executions.
1919.....	330	0	3
1920.....	194	0	8
1921.....	190	6	10
1922.....	228	1	1
1923.....	270	9	1
1924.....	347	3	2
1925.....	394	8	3
1926.....	366	10	8
1927.....	379	3	3
1928.....	399	5	0
1929.....	351	7	4

Analyzing these figures we find that years with the greatest number of death sentences and executions were followed by marked increases in murders. Thus, 1922, which was preceded by six death sentences and ten executions, witnessed an increase of thirty-eight homicides over 1921, and 1927, preceded by ten death sentences and eight executions, exceeded 1926 by 13. Interesting also is the fact that though there were no executions in

1928, the following year saw a decided decrease in the murder rate.

Figures for New York City tell a similar story:

	Homicides.	Death Sentences.	Executions.
1926.....	340	15	13
1927.....	366	15	9
1928.....	401	8	6
1929.....	425	2	0

It would seem that the death house at Sing Sing prison held no terrors for the murderer in New York City. His hand was not stayed by contemplation of the electric chair.

These figures mean nothing if they do not indicate how utterly inconsequential is the death penalty as a deterrent for murder. There is not a single city that harbors an electric chair, or gallows, which is free from its quota of homicides. Several States after experimenting with abolition have restored the death penalty. Doubtless the restoration was prompted by an inflamed public opinion as the result of some particularly heinous crime. Have those States profited by the restoration?

Arizona abolished capital punishment in December, 1916. In 1915 there were 24 murders; in 1916, 23; 1917, 53, and 1918, 24. In December, 1918, capital punishment was restored, and there were 25 murders in 1919, 35 in 1920, 63 in 1926, 48 in 1927 and 54 in 1928. Thus with the exception of one year, 1917, there seems to have been no difference in the homicide rate, except that after restoration of capital punishment the rate has climbed continually upward. Missouri abolished capital punishment in 1917, but after a bank robbery and murder restored it in 1919. Since the restoration of the death penalty the murder rate has climbed from 351 or 9.7 in 1919 to 397 or 11.3 in 1928. Tennessee, Oregon and Washington experienced similar upward trends in homicides after the restoration of the death penalty.

Do persons with murderous intent often take their victims from States where murder is punishable by death

to jurisdictions where only life imprisonment is the extreme penalty? If that were so, there would be an influx of murderers to abolition States to avoid the extreme penalty. Facts do not seem to sustain this contention.

Kansas City, Mo., and Kansas City, Kan., are separated only by the Missouri River. In the Missouri city murder is punishable by death, in the Kansas City by life imprisonment. In 1929 there were 18 homicides in Kansas City, Kan., and 97 in Kansas City, Mo. The rate per 100,000 was 15.2 in Kansas City, Kan., and 24.8 in Kansas City, Mo. Oklahoma, a capital punishment State, which adjoins Kansas on the south, had 252 murders in 1928, the rate being 10.4, while Kansas, an abolition State, had 102, or a rate of 5.9. The rate in Montana, a capital punishment State, was 5.2, in 1927, while that of North Dakota, an abolition State adjoining Montana on the east, was 1.7. Wyoming, a capital punishment State (population about 250,000) had 14 murders in 1928, but South Dakota, a non-capital punishment State (population 700,000) adjoining Wyoming on the east, had 9. Iowa, a capital punishment State, had 56 murders in 1928, while Minnesota, a non-capital punishment State adjoining it on the north, had 71. The rate for Iowa was 2.3, for Minnesota 2.6—not an appreciable difference. Wisconsin, an abolition State, adjoining Iowa on the east, had 61 homicides in 1928, rate 2.1 (Iowa 2.3).

Milwaukee, Wis., is a city with a population of over 500,000. In 1929 it had 17 murders. Minneapolis, Minn., is a city with a population of 455,000. In 1929 it had 10 murders. Buffalo, N. Y., is a city with little over 500,000; in 1929 it had 31 murders. Wisconsin and Minnesota are abolition States. New York still enforces the death penalty.

It is well to remember that five of our States—North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Maine—have boundaries forming a part of the 3,000-mile open and unguarded

border between the United States and Canada. These States do not inflict the death penalty; Canada does. Yet the Canadian Provinces contiguous to these abolition States have their homicides. Their murderers do not carry their victims across the border, where their crimes would not be punishable by death.

Capital punishment in the United States may be regarded as practically abolished through indifferent enforcement. But, by retaining the death penalty in the penal code, it necessarily goes through the theatricals of the threat of enforcement. These very theatricals lend glamour to the accused fighting for life. The offense, no matter how heinous, is frequently disregarded in the new drama enacted in the court room where the prosecution demands death for the prisoners and counsel pleads for mercy. These theatricals reach out beyond the atmosphere of the court room. Not the murderous act they were charged with, but the spectacle of two defendants fighting for their lives was responsible for a certain highly sensational trial, during which 50 photographers were on duty around the court house, 10 in the court room, and 120 newspaper reporters and special writers on constant watch.

The Illinois Crime Commission reports one murder case where 646 men passed through the jury box before the necessary twelve were selected. It took nearly four weeks to select the jury. The defendant was acquitted. What has always appeared to be a peculiar anachronism in American court procedure—confined to capital cases—is the question propounded to every prospective juror as to his attitude toward capital punishment. If opposed he is disqualified from service. I often wonder if this procedure has something to do with the large number of reversals in murder cases.

So many human and entirely fallible factors enter into finality of each case from the moment of capture, through the trial, appeal and executive action

that it is difficult to conceive of absolute certainty in all the remaining cases. "Positive" identification by eye-witnesses has been frequently recanted and disproved. In Sing Sing prison, on July 17, 1930, three men were executed for murder. Their convictions were affirmed by the Court of Appeals by a divided court. The law took its toll. Who can say which of the opinions should have prevailed in the final analysis? In a statement recently submitted by me to the Select Committee of the British House of Commons on the subject of capital punishment, I listed forty-five cases, including those of three women, of convictions for murder in the first degree, followed by death sentences, in which the accused were saved from execution by last-minute confessions or newly discovered evidence. Many men of questionable guilt have gone to their deaths only because they were unable to arouse sufficient sentiment or procure funds for thorough investigation of their cases.

Some oppose abolition of capital punishment because of sentiment for the family of the victim: "Think of the poor widow, suddenly bereaved, and her orphaned children." They are indeed deserving of every sympathy, those innocent, helpless victims of passion or hate or downright lawlessness. But are we competent to judge between two groups of equally innocent victims—between dependents of the person murdered and those of the murderer? How many of us really sympathize with the kin of the victim who begs for permission to "pull the switch" or "spring the trap"? We have outgrown and abandoned mere vengeance in the treatment of crime.

In America the execution last year of little more than a hundred murderers could not have assuaged the hearts of over 10,000 bereaved persons, victims of as many homicides. On the other hand, if every man or woman of these five to ten thousand murderers were executed the people would rise in horror to demand im-

mediate abolition of the death penalty. And yet, if it is right and morally just to execute one in eighty-five, it would be equally right and just to execute all.

There is an element of deterrence in every form of punishment, but the larger problem is not whether a law is a deterrent. It is rather whether it is an enforceable deterrent, and whether it is a necessary deterrent. Crimes of passion are never deterred by the death sentence. Triangle murderers are not and never will be restrained by the threat of capital punishment. They are the result either of momentary emotion, or planned with self-assured complacency against possible detection. The death penalty offers no terrors for this class of murderers.

Homicides committed by gangsters or by criminals while engaged in the commission of felonies are the most desperate murders, and always arouse deep public resentment. This class of murderer is never deterred by the gallows or the electric chair. The gangster, as we now know him, appreciates that his is a precarious existence. The moment he joins the ranks he is a marked man. He flirts with death and invariably he dies with his "boots on." The risk he runs is the danger of some one else getting the "drop" on him. He has no more scruples about shooting it out with the police than with his enemy in the other gang. The threat of the noose or the chair means nothing to him. But he fears confinement. The would-be "tough," often anxious to act the hero in daredevil escapades, even at the risk of life, does not relish the prospect of life imprisonment or a long stretch behind the walls.

What remains is the deliberate murderer who plans in advance and strikes with utter abandon. The threat of death does not deter him. The possibility of detection does. Life imprisonment, without hope of release unless newly discovered evidence establishes his innocence, is the logical alterna-

tive for all these murderers. It has been said that condemned men prefer life imprisonment to death by execution. I have known instances where men begged to die, refused to aid in the appeal of their verdicts, in the hope that death might come sooner. It is not, however, what the condemned feel or think after conviction that is important. Of course, in calm retrospection, men usually prefer life, but their reactions to consequences, before they commit the crime, is of greater weight. A competent police power, to convince the potential murderer that his guilt will be promptly established, and as promptly punished by imprisonment for life, will deter homicidal intent. Certainly the poisoner who plans to kill for acquisitive purpose expects to "get away with it." The man who murders deliberately in the face of the certainty of detection and life imprisonment is generally not of sound mind. In all probability he will be sent to a hospital for the criminal insane. That is generally true of the prisoner who attacks an official in a prison with the death chamber close at hand. His chances of avoiding detection are almost negligible. He kills regardless of consequences. Dramatic murder trials, death chambers, radiate suggestive influences which affect the weak-minded and neurotic, making them utterly oblivious to ultimate consequences in their desire for heroics.

Another factor is the undue delay of trial, judgment and final disposition of all homicide cases. In New York, of 289 cases in which the judgment of death was finally carried out, thirty-nine men waited six months to know their fate; 158 from six months to twelve; fifty-four, twelve to eighteen months; twenty-five, eighteen to

twenty-four months; nine, twenty-four to twenty-nine months; two, thirty-one to thirty-four months, and one waited three years and four months. Fifty-nine whose judgments of death were finally reversed waited as follows: Ten, up to six months; thirty-three, seven to twelve months; five, thirteen to eighteen months; eight, nineteen to twenty-four months; three, twenty-eight to thirty-two months. This condition is not peculiar to New York. It exists in America wherever capital punishment prevails, and does not lend itself to swift and certain justice, most effective as a crime deterrent.

Of interest, too, is the fact that the sale of pistols and revolvers increased threefold in the first seven months of 1930 as compared with 1929, and over 75 per cent of all murders are gun killings. Yet there is strange reluctance in enacting remedial legislation to restrict the manufacture and sale of firearms.

In olden times gallows were erected at street corners and crossroads as a warning to the evil-minded. Were it possible today to plaster every night club in large cities with pictures of the electric chair or to exhibit one on every busy corner it would have no more effect in deterring criminals than had the gallows of old with their gruesome appendages. The answer to homicide in America is not death, with its futile finality and inescapable suggestion. The answer is to be found in more effective, efficient law enforcement. A Governor of one of our abolition States recently confirmed the fact that since abolition convictions for murder in his State increased 50 per cent. Is not that the answer to the problem of capital punishment?

Europe's Dole-Fed Millions

By C. DELISLE BURNS

Lecturer in Citizenship, University of Cambridge, England

A SUDDEN and very general increase in the payment of money from public funds to unemployed persons in most of the States of Western Europe was caused by the extraordinary conditions immediately following the armistice of 1918. Exceptional payments during the period of demobilization in Great Britain were popularly known as the "dole." This term has since been used, incorrectly, to cover the newly extended unemployment insurance funds of 1930, when the "dole" properly so called ceased to exist. In Germany the social chaos resulting from the disbandment of the armies and the Ruhr episode led to gifts from public funds which have since been regularized by inclusion under older forms of public assistance. Twelve years after the armistice the practice in most European States and the general attitude toward payments for maintenance from public funds are still deeply affected by the situation resulting from the war. Whether the war atmosphere is transitional or is to have permanent effects upon current practice in the use of public funds, it is one of the most important causes of the present situation.

The belief that men and women who serve the State in its need deserve at least security against economic distress is not without effect upon the claims of others who have not been either soldiers or munition workers. Indeed, so great has been the effect of the war upon the whole social structure of Central Europe, Italy and even France and Great Britain, that

children born since the armistice are commonly felt to have lost something which their parents, in their young days, had. Children, too, then, have some claims arising from the collapse of civilized life from 1914 to 1918. Add to this the very widespread feeling among manual workers and the "lower middle-class" clerks and small *rentiers*, that a few persons have profited by the war and what followed it, and one has an indication of the pressure upon governments which has led to increased payments for maintenance.

The State has become a different institution from what it was when, in the middle of the nineteenth century, our most recent ideas of government were formulated. It is impossible yet to say what the new democracy involves, but clearly, in the face of post-war demands, public funds are not likely to be administered under the guidance of nineteenth century ideas. Policy at present is "hand-to-mouth"; principle is "rule-of-thumb"; and the result in many States is perhaps well described as "putting your foot in it." Mistakes are inevitable in a period of experimentation; but new conceptions of policy in meeting issues are gradually being evolved out of "hand-to-mouth" efforts.

In Great Britain unemployment led, first, to an extension of the 1911 maintenance scheme to cover, in 1921, about 11,000,000 persons. In 1921 the cost of unemployment was about £10,766,000; by 1928 this had risen to £42,784,000. Of that amount only about £12,000,000 was derived from national taxation, and the other £30,-

650,000 from contributions of workers and employers. Maintenance, however, was also given through the poor law, which is now administered by county councils. The number of persons in England and Wales in receipt of "poor law" relief of all kinds in 1913 was 613,480; in 1918 only 454,815, and in 1926 2,420,738. In 1929 it was 1,033,363. Of this large number only about 360,000 can be considered as maintained because of distress directly due to unemployment. Acts granting "relief" of this kind caused in England and Wales in 1911 an expenditure of about £15,000,000 and in 1928 of £40,989,000, of which sum about £34,727,000 was from local taxation. In Scotland the figures were approximately £1,000,000 in 1911 and £4,491,000 in 1928, the number of persons directly benefiting being 1,305,000 in England and Wales and 213,000 in Scotland.

Of the two next greatest expenditures for maintenance, old-age pensions and health insurance, the former, in Great Britain as a whole, rose from £7,000,000 in 1911 to £33,750,000 in 1928, the total sum coming from national taxation. Under the health insurance acts the total spent from public funds, apart from contributions of insured persons, was in 1928 about £7,000,000.

In Germany, according to the official *Deutsche Sozialpolitik* 1918-1928, the cost of unemployment benefits to the Reich was 37,000,000 and 82,000,000 marks in November and December, 1927, whereas in the same two months a year later the cost was 76,000,000 and 113,000,000 marks. That, however, was a new and temporarily abnormal expenditure. The older use of funds for maintenance in sickness, accident and so forth involved expenditure of about 1,000,000,000 marks in 1913 and 4,000,000,000 in 1928. The conditions in Germany have been quite abnormal. But even in Sweden there has been the same tendency to increase expenditure for public assistance. For example, the cost of the Social Department rose from about

20,000,000 crowns in 1913 to about 100,000,000 in 1928, although the total income of the State had risen from approximately 243,000,000 crowns in 1913 to only 787,000,000 in 1928. Only a part of these expenditures, however, is relevant to the present discussion.

Similarly in Holland unemployment expenditure rose from 1,800,000,000 florins in 1919 to 6,000,000,000 in 1927. Denmark spent for social welfare in 1928 82,904,000 kronen from central funds and 93,000,000 from local funds. In Belgium the expenditure in 1928 for like purposes was 560,000,000 francs. The new States in Europe have been compelled to follow the same tendency. Poland, for example, has had to carry over the old Austrian system into the former Russian sections of the country. Sickness benefits cost 63,000,000 zlotys in 1924 and 161,000,000 in 1927. But the figures for different countries are not comparable. The only general statement which is warranted is that an increasing proportion of public expenditure is for public assistance in all modern States.

Obviously the social effects of maintenance from public funds differ in different States and in different economic situations. Where opportunities for making a livelihood are many and various and natural resources are great—that is, in "young" societies—maintenance from public funds is looked at askance. The optimism that has prevailed in the United States, for example, has hardly permitted reference to those who "fall by the way." But today in such countries as Germany and Great Britain the sense of social interdependence allows a much larger place for the practice of maintenance from public funds. It is no longer believed that poverty is due to personal defect. The social effect of maintenance, therefore, is not believed to be opposed to general social progress.

In the first place, maintenance funds cause an increase in purchasing

power. A family with unemployment "benefit," relieved also from the duty of maintaining grandparents by old-age pensions, and from accident or illness by other funds, is able to buy food and clothes. The social funds, put into the family purse, exercise a "pull" upon production of "final consumption" goods. There are, of course, liabilities involved which will be noted later. Without unemployment benefit the market in Germany and Great Britain for the "necessities" of life would be even less than it is. All these funds, therefore, represent purchasing power, generally for bare needs and such simple luxuries as motion pictures and cheap beer. Actually, in spite of abnormal unemployment, the amount of starvation due to poverty greatly decreased in 1929 as compared with 1913. In Great Britain there were still in 1924 nearly 2,000,000 people living "below the lowest standard necessary to maintain bare physical efficiency." But this compares with the 4,000,000 in that state in 1913.

Maintenance funds also create a "reserve" of labor and vitality which are necessary to the community in case either a trade revival or an improvement of the general standard of living takes place. If wage earners have no purchasing power owing to unemployment, ill health or accident, they and their dependents at once drop to the level of the pre-modern man, weakened, devitalized and prematurely aged; and if afterward required for service, they are inadequate. Children of families without purchasing power cannot be expected, when they grow up, to have muscle, nerve or intelligence for modern occupations, even if they survive to be adults. In Glasgow in 1821-27 the expectation of life at birth was 34 years for males and 37 for females. In spite of increased wealth, these years were reduced in 1870 to 30 and 32. After expenditure on social services they had risen by 1920 to 48.41 years for males, 52.22 for females. This is for

the whole city. The expectation of life for females at 10 years of age in 1912 was 46 if they lived in one-room dwellings and 58 years if they lived in dwellings with four or more rooms. Neglecting "class" differences, the present population of Glasgow will live approximately 20,000,000 more years of life than a similar number of persons fifty years ago. And within those years they enjoy better health and greater vitality and exhibit more intelligence.

When we now turn from the social assets created by expenditure on social services to the liabilities, we should first refer to the source from which the public funds are drawn. Clearly these funds do not drop from heaven; nor is the proverbial goose—who may be supposed to "lay the golden egg" as a banker or merchant—immortal. The funds for maintenance come generally from taxation. The money so accumulated might presumably be used for either "capital goods"—extended railway services, industrial plant and so forth—or for a greater number of luxuries such as increased domestic or personal services. In both cases increased employment, and therefore increased wages for purchasing power, would, no doubt, result.

The issue is how much employment or purchasing power on the whole would be the result of less taxation, less "maintenance" and, therefore, less purchasing power immediately used for "final consumption." The same amount of money does not create the same amount of employment. For example, waiting at table causes less employment than driving a locomotive; and certainly it does not create equally valuable kinds of employment from the standpoint of the community as a whole. It is, however, arguable in any given case that less taxation will in the long run cause more employment and through improved capital investment a more widely distributed and increased purchasing power. Certainly the cure for un-

employment is to improve existing systems of employment, not to give relief. Although anaesthetic drugs may have to precede a cure in the treatment of a social situation, the drug may obstruct the cure. Something is sacrificed if money is taken by taxation for use in "maintenance." This is a liability and must be balanced against the assets accruing from the uses of public funds.

A greater liability in social maintenance is the effect upon those who receive purchasing power without corresponding effort on their part; that is, the creation of dependency, leading to inertia. This is not an effect of old-age pensions, or of relief in ill-health or after accident; it is an effect only of maintenance of the able-bodied unemployed. Nor is the effect due to any moral turpitude in them. Every man in any social class tends to deteriorate if he is placed in a position in which active life is impossible. The situation in which great numbers—say 500,000 adult men, women and active youths—are without occupations requiring effort from them is in itself unhealthy. Moreover, the treatment of that situation which, while allowing these persons to live, gives them no necessity to work, may increase the general ill health.

A new problem arises when work that is needed is already provided for by private enterprise. Builders, for example, will object to having their gains decreased by buildings constructed by the use of public funds to give employment to men otherwise unemployed. Usually the same persons who object to payment to the able-bodied unemployed also object to every scheme for making them work for payment. So far no proof has been given by any official inquiry to show

that unemployment benefit in Great Britain has caused healthy men and women to refuse work because maintenance was available. Undeniably, however, the mere fact that 10,000,000 persons in the world are without work is causing deterioration of skill and intelligence. The amount of deterioration caused by the offer of maintenance, however infinitesimal by comparison, may be counted as a liability.

The alternative possibility, the withdrawal of maintenance, has not been discussed, because in European countries it is generally believed that withdrawal would lead at once to revolution and social chaos. Having no money to buy bread leads at once to taking bread; we have had experience of that in Germany and elsewhere since the war. At the worst, therefore, public assistance is an insurance to prevent violent revolution against a social order of which some believe themselves to be the victims. Men in Europe will not starve or die quietly; nor will they work under what they regard, however erroneously, as slavish conditions. The fear of what would occur if the maintenance from public funds were withdrawn from the able-bodied is one of the chief causes for the continuance of the policy.

It is generally recognized, however, that what was accepted as inevitable in the first ten years after the armistice of 1918 is tending to become a permanent burden in many European countries. The demand for maintenance during a prolonged period of unemployment is now granted, but this policy will have to change into something more constructive, at least in Great Britain and in Germany, within the next decade.

Brazil: A Land of Contrasts

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

Lecturer and Writer on South American Affairs

IN the words of Rudyard Kipling, "the United States of Brazil is a world in itself." Yet with the widest river in the world, with enormous resources in timber and hardwoods, chemicals and precious stones, and with the chief source of supply of most of our coffee, it takes a political revolution to bring this largest of the Latin-American countries into the limelight.

The extent and importance of the country become more apparent when we find that it covers approximately half the South American Continent and is larger than the entire United States with another Texas added, or, as one authority puts it, "about one-fifteenth of the entire earth's surface." It is the fourth in area of the countries of the world, but its population is only 40,000,000, one-third of that of the United States.

Perhaps because of the lure it holds for explorers and adventurers, the jungle of the Amazonian regions has received undue attention. But vast as the jungle is, Brazil and the jungle are not synonymous. The Amazonian valley, or jungle, regions cover less than half the area of the republic. South of these regions, stretching to the Uruguayan and Argentine frontiers, and almost to the western border, but excluding the narrow range of mountains and hills of the eastern seaboard, is an area some five-eighths of the entire country, averaging over 2,000 feet above sea level. This great central plateau offers potentialities in agriculture, mining and stock-raising

which are unsurpassed by any other similar area in the world.

"But it is a tropical country." The fabled tropics, in the average mind, suggest untold terrors to human beings, particularly to white men. The equatorial regions of Northern Brazil, however, are not so hot as the West Indies, because the thermal Equator lies considerably north of the geographic Equator, approximately along the northern coast of the continent. The territory of Brazil extends 5 degrees north of the geographic Equator and over 30 degrees south, and much of it therefore is in the South Temperate Zone. Most of it is confined to the great plateau and enjoys sufficient altitude to insure a mildly temperate climate. Frequent press dispatches during the past season brought news of Winter snow, and even below-zero weather, in the Southern States. In the heart of the northern interior the average temperature the year round, according to the best authorities, is 82 degrees in the daytime and from 25 to 35 degrees lower at night. No informed explorer ventures here without blankets and heavy clothing.

Moreover, many tropical barriers give way before modern progress. Sanitation and medical science have proved that the tropics can be transformed into garden spots and health resorts. Today the cities of Brazil, even Para, Pernambuco and Bahia, lying on or near the Equator, are no more dangerous to live in than New Orleans, Mobile, Jacksonville or Sa-



THE STATES OF BRAZIL

vannah. The Brazilian cities, of course, formerly suffered the scourge of yellow fever, but within the recollection of many still living so did the North American cities.

The Republic of Brazil is the youngest of the ten republics of the South American Continent. On Nov. 15 it celebrated its forty-first anniversary, although it has been, in turn, a colony, a regency, an empire and a republic. It has enjoyed independence, free from the dictates and the interferences of Europe for 107 years, and during that time has had two Emperors and a dozen Presidents.

The government, State and national, although republican and representative, bears on the whole less resemblance to the governments of the other South American countries than does that of the United States to Canada. Brazil is divided into a federal district, one territory and twenty separate and distinct States with their own governments. Although these States correspond to ours as political

divisions, they enjoy considerably more power. In most of the Latin republics the central government is predominant, all-powerful, able to intervene and remove provincial or department officers upon the slightest provocation, and for indefinite periods, but in Brazil the States with their Presidents experience little interference from the central government. The Presidency of a State like Sao Paulo is an exalted and coveted position. In some cases, as for instance in the Sao Paulo organization for the control of the coffee industry, States have been able to dictate the policies of the central government.

Geography has much to do with this regional power and pride. The capital of the State of Amazonas is almost as far from the capital of Rio Grande do Sul as it is from New York City. In fact, owing to methods of transportation, it is much further. Moreover, the State of Amazonas has but one city set in nearly a million square miles of an equatorial jungle, which is inhabited for the most part by unrelated tribes of uncivilized Indians. Rio Grande do Sul, on the other hand, has numerous cities and towns, and is a great cattle and grain country lying far enough south to experience very cold Winter weather. Differences among other States are not so great, perhaps, but the contrast in geographic, climatic, economic and ethnic conditions is pronounced enough.

The group of Southern States—Rio de Janeiro, Minas Geraes, Sao Paulo, Parana, Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul—because of a fairly extensive railway system probably enjoy a closer relationship than any of the other States. In the North, the States along the seaboard—Bahia, Parahyba, Ceara, Pernambuco, Para and others—until very recent years were connected only by desultory steamers and therefore knew little of one another.

Brazil has no railroad which extends from north to south, not even

one connecting the far Northern States with the Federal capital. Distances are so great and settlement so sparse that extended railroad construction has been impossible. All but two or three of the important cities of the republic—Manaos on the Amazon, Bello Horizonte, capital of the interior State of Minas Geraes, and Sao Paulo, capital of Sao Paulo—are on the seacoast. The latter two, however, are connected by rail and highway with Rio and the coast. The city of Sao Paulo, moreover, is the Chicago of Southern Brazil, at least so far as railroads are concerned.

The diversity of the human elements which make up the second most populous country of the Americas is so great that it might quite properly be called the meeting place of mankind, or possibly the greatest social experiment of the New World.

Before the Europeans came the Indians roamed and ruled plain and jungle. Unlike the Nordic conquerors of North America, who almost exterminated the Red Man, the Portuguese conquerors of Brazil spared the aborigines and made them an important part of the scheme of things. As a result, Indian traditions and Indian characteristics are today eloquently stamped upon the civilization of the country. Brazil, however, early embraced the institution of slavery, which resulted in the coming of millions of black men from Africa. Today 40 per cent of the entire population is either of African descent or mulatto. Because the Iberian peninsula has been the bridge across which conquering nations and races of two continents have marched through the ages the early Portuguese were themselves a mixture of all the races of the Old World. Transplanted to the New World they were not race conscious and consequently the mixture of the blood of the aborigine, the black man and the conqueror is predominant in the descendants of the earlier population.

A prominent publisher of Rio, himself of Portuguese stock, has pointed out that there are few old Portuguese-Brazilian families without traces of Indian or African blood. The early settlers, unlike the Pilgrims who came to Plymouth, were all men. Most of them took wives from among the natives and not infrequently from among the slaves. Their children and their children's children who have come under the influence of Latin culture may now be found in the highest political positions. There are, too, many business leaders who carry, unashamedly, the mark of darker race heritage.

But Brazil has become a new melting pot into which have been poured many other nationalities and races. More recently European immigration has added a strong and influential element to the population. Upholding the common traditions of the land, and contributing freely and happily to this world apart, are Italians, Germans, Frenchmen, Scandinavians, Bulgarians and Turks. The immigrants of recent times have remained quite aloof socially. They do not intermarry with the darker peoples, particularly those of African descent. In fact, only among certain of the Portuguese immigrants are there free relations with the blacks.

First among the principal groups of Europeans who have come over in recent times are the Germans. They colonized large areas in the south, especially the Southern States of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catharina and Parana. Even in the great coffee State of Sao Paulo, as well as in the State of Rio de Janeiro, the German element is strong. In Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are also hundreds of thousands of Italians who have furnished many leading financiers and bankers. Look over a roster of the foremost men of all walks of life and the peoples of all Europe are well represented.

In a country so vast, with such a confusion of races, the problems of

government and social development are bound to be unusual. But the unity of feeling, all things considered, is unusually strong. Less than a half century ago more than a third of the population was in slavery and today the remoter areas of the country are still inhabited by aborigines and half-breeds, all illiterate and many uncivilized. Moreover, millions among the urban population of Brazil are a conglomerate immigrant class from all over the world, born and brought up under political systems entirely foreign to the Brazilian system.

Robbery, gangster warfare and organized crime as they exist in the cities of the United States are unheard of in the populous centres of Brazil. No cities are safer for native or stranger than Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo; yet they are as cosmopolitan as Chicago or Detroit. Outside the cities banditry or hold-ups are almost never heard of.

The great problem of Brazil today is economic. Despite the diversity of its products and the possibility of an enormous output, Brazil has throughout its history been a one-product country. At one time diamond mining ran away with its economic machinery. Later rubber became the basis of its exchange and now coffee is king. Government in Brazil has been made to serve in turn these and other interests; in each instance the result was economic disaster.

As Brazil produces most of the world's coffee, an attempt was made recently to control the world market by governmental decree. The scheme employed was called valorization. It worked well for a period, but eventually went the way of all other government monopolies of nature's products, and has been finally abandoned.

Business men and officials at last appear to be fully aware of the futilities of the one-product idea. Younger men schooled in the new economics see this and advocate diversification, the more so as Brazil's resources are too vast and varied for the country to

depend upon coffee. Already on some of the great *fazendas* (ranches) in the State of Sao Paulo, wheat, corn, sugar cane and fruit are grown on ground once occupied by coffee trees. One of the largest *fazendas* has a greater acreage in sugar cane than in coffee trees. One of the leading *fazenderios* of Sao Paulo has admitted that the trouble in the coffee section of Brazil was due to the fact that many of the large landholders spent their time abroad, living in luxury from the income of their great estates. Those who have stayed in Brazil and studied their business have long since instituted modern ideas and methods of agriculture.

Foreign capital invested in Brazil until recently was almost wholly British, as the following figures show:

Foreign investments in Brazil	
Jan. 1, 1930.....	\$3,259,720,000
British investments in Brazil	
Jan. 1, 1930.....	1,512,180,000
United States investments in Brazil Jan. 1, 1930.....	
	504,760,000
French investments in Brazil	
Jan. 1, 1930.....	88,700,000

Only since the World War has United States capital traveled extensively south of Panama and the West Indies. Indeed, it was looked upon with suspicion in most of the South American countries, perhaps less so in Brazil than in the others, but even there the traditional Latin-American attitude toward the United States was not absent by any means. Before the October revolution Brazil was the one country of all the twenty Latin-American republics in which the United States was looked upon with sincere respect and confidence. The reception given to President Hoover on his visit to Brazil was more genuinely spontaneous than in any of the other countries visited on his Southern tour. [The revolution in Brazil is treated by Professor Henry Grattan Doyle under South America in *The Month's History of the Nations*.]

The Theatre in American Life

By THOMAS H. DICKINSON

Editor, "Chief Contemporary Dramatists"

THE American theatre in the twentieth century may be credited with two significant accomplishments. On the business side it has applied to the fields of amusement the principles of standardized production and systematized distribution which have characterized the industrial era. On the side of art it has adapted the system of the artist guild under which the creative forces of the theatre free themselves from the domination of the box office by pooling their resources and strength. As these two principles are distinct and in many respects antagonistic, it may be well to inquire how they arose and what they imply.

The beginning of the century witnessed a complete change in the position of public amusement in the social scheme. The population of the United States had become predominantly urban. The increased leisure which followed the transfer to towns left the mass of people with time on their hands. One of the first results of urban life and additional leisure was a changed attitude toward amusement. People were no longer content with the simple and individual pastimes of rural life, but demanded that organized group amusement be made conveniently available to them. They became—what they had not been before—regular patrons of the various forms of entertainment.

In response to this new demand baseball, boxing and golf all developed greatly during this period, the two former entering the ranks of big

business. But the most interesting activities in organized amusement came under the general head of the theatre.

A generation ago little or nothing had been done to clarify the business and art principles of the theatre. The great potential profits in public amusement had not been dreamed of, much less tapped. On its creative side the theatre was the Cinderella of the arts. There had always been a certain form of primitive organization in dramatic production, but as a rule this had been only enough to get the play produced by a group of actors and to perform it here and there in haphazard fashion. There had been little success in organizing companies on a stable basis and nothing whatever had been done to organize the audience or even to estimate the extent of consumer demand for one or another form of amusement. Conditions of this kind neither supported nor encouraged a healthy dramatic art.

The introduction of greater system in theatrical procedure began with the organization of theatrical syndicates. The term syndicate has been so long associated with Klaw & Erlanger that we have overlooked the fact that this was only one and not the most important of many syndicates. The syndicate system invaded all the producing activities of the theatre. The first result was a sharper differentiation between types of amusement, between the popular forms of vaudeville and variety and the kind of legitimate or artistic pro-

duction that appeals to smaller audiences.

Syndicate organization began in the variety field, where the syndicates of Proctor, Keith, Albee and the Orpheum Circuit grew to great magnitude. These circuits catered to a larger public and controlled more theatres and entertainers than did the syndicates conducting legitimate theatres.

The organization of the theatre into two clearly marked groups—popular amusement and the so-called "legitimate" drama—differentiated for the first time its two controlling motives—commercial profit and creative artistry. Heretofore these two motives had been sadly confused. Needless to say, in popular amusement the business principle was completely dominant. The early vaudeville syndicates prospered to the extent that they introduced rigorous economies into their organizations. The Keith, Proctor and Orpheum groups first standardized amusement, first established ethical codes, first introduced regularity of supply; in short, evolved the first nation-wide organization of theatres each reporting to headquarters, each supplied with its program from a centre. Under this system any town in the circuit could be sure of a program of graded value. The vaudeville circuits were the pioneers in creating a regular audience for theatrical entertainment.

If conditions had been static, the vaudeville circuits might still be running prosperously. But the demands of business are intransigent, and there came the time when further economies and greater system became necessary. These demands were not captious. They arose from the creation of a large consumer demand and the large organization erected to serve it. Merchandise that had to be sold in the form of human actors and bulky scenery was both too expensive and too unwieldy for an indefinite expansion of the organization to serve newly arising audiences.

At this moment the motion picture theatre arrived with a means of solving the problems along the most modern lines of mass production and systematic distribution. It was a system calling for the use of stencils in big amusement enterprise in the same fashion as Henry Ford used the stamp press in the making of automobiles. The film camera and the projector for both sight and sound are the perfect expedient for the commercial exploitation of amusement. Before long the great new syndicates organized to distribute this cheapest form of entertainment profoundly affected all types of amusement enterprise. Their competition resulted in the merging of the vaudeville circuits into the great picture corporations. Here, then, we have the development of the kind of public amusement which lends itself to big business methods.

The history of the attempt to organize syndicates for the legitimate drama was from the start an unhappy one. Although audiences were limited and production costs higher, the real difficulty was not a business one but arose from a disparity of interest between those who created the production itself and those who provided the money for the undertaking. It is a fact of history that the syndicate of legitimate theatres never had the sincere cooperation of the artists upon whom it depended for its wares. Out of this disparity of interests grew the strongest organization yet constructed among the artists of the theatre. This was Equity, the union of actors formed to protect their economic interests and to preserve their artistic integrity.

Furthermore, the overlords of the legitimate theatre soon found that they had alienated not only that small but discriminating audience to which the legitimate theatre appealed, but almost completely the creative genius of the theatre in the persons of the better playwrights. None of the legitimate syndicates has ever operated over a wide front or ever risen to true

nation-wide organization. They have always tended to drive their audiences into support of the cheaper forms of amusement and to hamper and discourage their authors by repressing imagination and demanding conformity to models.

Under present social and economic conditions the theatre must either be a big business or it is not a business at all. So great are the costs of theatrical production that any attempt to make a little business of the theatre ends in failure. The organizations purveying amusement to the millions are serving a perfectly justifiable social end. Any demand that they serve first and foremost the purposes of art is beside the mark. Their first motive is money-making by satisfying a wide, popular demand for amusement. As long as they please the public which is seeking amusement on the level of their offerings, they are presumably fulfilling their function. This does not by any means imply that the motion picture may not become an art. With elbow room in the handling of its immense potentialities, some creative giant may yet surmount all the difficulties and make it an art of surpassing magnitude and power. The fact remains, however, that the motion picture is as yet not an art, but a great amusement business.

The past fifteen years have done a great deal to clarify the motives and issues of theatrical activity. They have definitely driven the large-scale exploiters of popular amusement into the great organized enterprises. But what of those theatres of narrow and specific appeal which cannot satisfy the rigorous demands of big business? The past fifteen years have demonstrated that for those theatres there is another driving motive which is nearer to the heart of theatrical enterprise—the motive of creative artistry. It has been fully shown that there is room in the amusement field for the two types of organization, but they must be kept rigorously distinct both in purpose and organization. Any

attempt to combine commercial profit and creative artistry ends only in failure and in the debasement of the theatre.

The conduct of those theatres whose aim is creative artistry is no less typical of our times than the organization of great amusement enterprises. It contributes to the technique of public art in a democracy by applying the principle of strength in union to the processes of artistic creation. It may be confessed that there are still unsolved riddles in the "guild" system of theatrical organization. It seems to run counter to all preconceived ideas, since it demands of the artists a complete absorption in the central purposes of the group and subordination of all other factors, both of personal ambition and of financial profit to the dominating motive of imaginative creation.

In spite of the unsolved riddles and the lurking mischances of the guild system, it has been under such a system, free from the hampering controls of a specific profit motive, that all the advance of the last fifteen years in the art of the American theatre has been made. Thus have local repertory theatres in New York, Cleveland, Dallas, California and elsewhere come into existence. Starting as amateur or "little" theatres, they have rapidly become pillars of the new art of the American theatre. Their work has been threefold. They have had to produce plays, to create audiences and to find playwrights and artists. It is to their credit that they have done this so well that we now have the beginnings of a new art of the American theatre.

By nature and by necessity much of the art of the new "guild" theatres is an art of revolt. It is marked by a sense of strong social awareness; perhaps there is in its impulse an outraged sense that the art of the theatre has been confined and must be freed. At any rate, the energy behind much of the work of the new art theatres is the urge of non-conformity,

the will to violate conventions and to break taboos. This fact may have had an inimical influence upon the work of certain theatres which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called art theatres.

In the dramatic guild and in mechanized amusement we have the two vital theatres in America today. And it is an interesting fact that whereas nothing in the business organization of the popular theatre forbids the development of an art, so nothing in the organization of the art theatre forbids those that serve it from drawing adequate compensation in return for their labor.

Here we have two groups that may be held responsible by society for their works in the various fields of public amusement. The big business group is responsible to its stockholders. It must satisfy reasonable social standards or it cannot live. The guild theatres on their side are responsible to their own artistic principles. They, too, must satisfy certain standards or they cannot live.

If the theatre were entirely in the hands of these two groups there would be little to complain of, and the threat of danger would not hang over the whole theatrical world. Unfortunately there is another group which has neither artistic conscience nor standards of enlightened business enterprise. This is made up of the little business men who, lacking genuine ability and capacity for large enterprises as well as artistic insight and purpose, pander to that most illusory of fictions, "what the public wants." Having no imaginations themselves, they know only two ways of giving the public what it wants. They can imitate as well as possible some "success" that a producer of more imagination has brought out, or they can turn a penny by the sale of what is

nothing else but pornographic amusement.

Here we have an explanation of the torrent of fourth and fifth class work that has found its way to the stage during the last few years, and the deluge of lewdness with which we have been drenched. Because some artists have been original and fanciful in their productions, these managers have presumed that any vapid, formless thing would tap the audience's pocketbook. Attempting to imitate the honest daring and sincere revolt of writers seeking a new way of life under the stratified conventions of the past, these managers assume that the one thing needful for success is to defile the holy and to shock the pure.

In the present situation of the stage there is only one note of portent. If censorship ever starts, it is likely to be indiscriminating, and the whole theatre will be held responsible for the misdeeds of its most irresponsible agents. By and large the theatre is in too healthy a condition to justify censorship. Yet the demand for repressive action is heard in many quarters. No one honestly opposes censorship in order to protect the profligate in his grunts or the wanton in her giggles, but to those irresponsible managers who seem disposed to try the patience of the American public two historic reminders may not be amiss. The Puritan censorship of the drama in 1642 retarded American drama for 200 years. As a result of the post-Restoration censorship the English-speaking stage has ever since been wrapped in a cloak of sentimentality and artifice from which it is only just now emerging. Those who make a little profit out of pandering to the lowest tastes of a certain group of the American audience may well pay heed.

A New Crisis in Zionism

Of the two articles that follow, the first tells the story from the Zionist standpoint of the Palestine Mandate and its administration until just before the publication of the Simpson report and the British Government's new statement of policy. The second article summarizes the controversy aroused by more recent developments.

I

By ISRAEL COHEN

General Secretary, World Zionist Organization

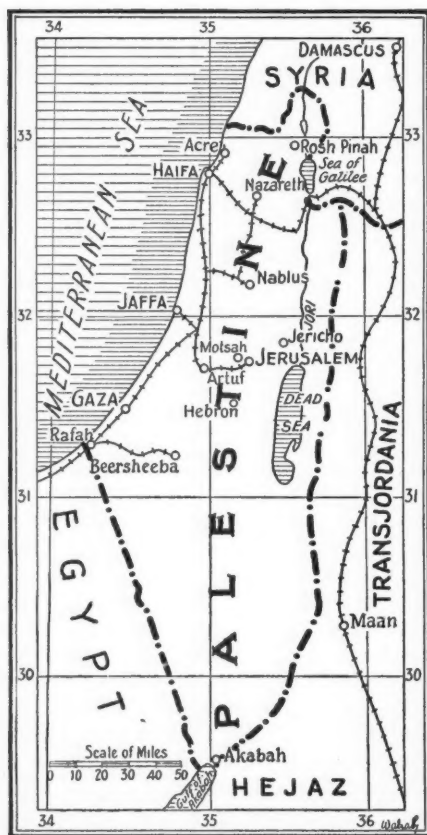
THE Palestine Mandate, one of the outstanding products of the World War, owes its origin to the decision of the allied powers to assist the Jewish people in the realization of its age-long aspiration to revive its national life in the land in which it had enjoyed fifteen hundred years of independence—a decision that was a practical application of one of the principles for which they fought—self-determination of small nations.

The Zionist movement, which had been established in 1897 at a congress in Basle, had not been able to achieve any appreciable progress in the attainment of its avowed aim—to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law—owing to the systematic opposition of the Turkish Government. Hence the leaders who happened to be in England at the outbreak of the war, Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow, took steps to insure that as part of the general settlement to be made at the conclusion of hostilities satisfaction should at length be rendered to the historic claims of the Jewish people. They entered into relations with members of the British Government, particularly Lord (then Mr. Arthur) Balfour, who had previously evinced sympathy with their cause, for the pur-

pose of obtaining the issue of a statement favorable to Zionist aspirations, their conversations being inspired by the hope that the allied powers would prove the victors and have the decisive voice in the fate of Palestine.

In October, 1916, a document setting forth the aims of Zionism and outlining the specific means to be adopted for their realization was drawn up for submission to the Cabinet, but the latter would not accept anything but a broad general statement of policy. Accordingly, the Zionist organization in July, 1917, submitted a formula embodying "the principle of recognizing Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people" and postulating "as essential for the realization of this principle the grant of internal autonomy to the Jewish nationality in Palestine." The Cabinet found this formula unacceptable and prepared a draft of its own in which it used the expression, "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The Zionist leaders urged the adoption of the more significant phrase, "the reconstitution of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people," but to no effect.

The declaration of policy approved by the Cabinet was conveyed in a let-



THE PALESTINE MANDATE

ter addressed on Nov. 2, 1917, by Lord Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild in the following terms: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

In issuing this historic statement, henceforth known as the Balfour Declaration, the British Government was animated not merely by a regard for Jewish aspirations but also by a consideration of the effect which such a policy might reasonably be expected

to produce, at a critical stage of the war, among the Jews in America and other countries, whose sympathy was of no small value. The term "National Home," which was unknown in political terminology, was interpreted by Viscount Cecil, a member of the Cabinet in 1917, to mean "Judaea for the Jews," whilst Sir Herbert Samuel, who had actively cooperated in securing the Declaration, stated in 1919 that the policy contemplated was one whereby "with the minimum of delay the country may become a purely self-governing commonwealth under the auspices of an established Jewish majority."

The formal submission of the Zionist demands to the peace conference was made in Paris on Feb. 27, 1919, but it was not until April 24, 1920, that the mandate for Palestine was conferred by the conference at San Remo upon Great Britain. The text of the mandate was still in a state of evolution, but the British Government soon terminated the military administration in Palestine, which had proved unsympathetic to the avowed aim of British policy, and appointed a High Commissioner (Sir Herbert Samuel) to inaugurate a civil administration. Owing to various political difficulties it was not until July 24, 1922, that the text of the mandate was officially confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations, though it did not actually enter into legal effect until Sept. 29, 1923.

The mandate embodied the terms of the Balfour Declaration, stated that "recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country," and included among its twenty-eight articles several that set forth essential provisions for the establishment of the Jewish National Home. When Dr. Weizmann was asked at the peace conference in Paris by the American delegate, Secretary of State Lansing, what he meant by the Jewish National

Home, he replied that "there should ultimately be such conditions that Palestine should be just as Jewish as America is American and England is English."

In consequence of the protests by Arab leaders against this definition and their clamor for the withdrawal of the Balfour Declaration, the British Government, almost on the eve of the final approval of the mandate, issued a statement of policy in which it explained the development of the Jewish National Home to be "not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and pride." That definition was far removed from Viscount Cecil's "Judaea for the Jews."

One of the cardinal obligations of the mandatory power is that "Palestine is to be placed under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home." In point of fact, however, it is the Jewish people itself, largely through the agency of the Zionist organization, which has carried out the vast work necessary for the creation of its national home, while the Government of Palestine (in which the Zionist organization has never been represented) devotes itself to the administration and the social and economic development of the country as a whole. Although the Jewish National Home cannot yet be said to be established, its foundations have certainly been laid, and its main lines of development are assured by the manifold progress made during the past ten years.

The Jewish population of Palestine has been trebled since the beginning of the British administration, having grown from 55,000 to 160,000, largely

through the influx of new settlers and to a smaller extent through natural increase. The immigrants have been drawn from all parts of the world, mainly from Eastern and Central Europe, but also from lands as varied and remote from one another as Siberia and South Africa, Argentina and Australia, Great Britain and the United States. They are mostly young and robust, both men and women, all animated by a fervid enthusiasm and all selected in their homelands on the ground of physical fitness and intellectual capacity from the myriads of applicants for immigration permits. These pioneers have performed all manner of hard tasks—breaking stones, making roads and railways, building bridges, erecting houses and factories, weeding the soil, draining marshes, reafforesting the bared hills, boring wells, installing telegraph and telephone connections and providing every other initial requisite in the development of a long-neglected land.

In the field of agricultural development there have been added to the forty Jewish settlements that existed before the war sixty new ones in all parts of the country, the majority being situated in the Vale of Jezreel and stretching almost continuously from Haifa to near Beisan. The land for these settlements has all had to be bought by the Jewish National Fund, the land-purchasing agency of the Zionist organization, for the provision of the mandate that Jews are to be settled on State and waste lands has hitherto remained a dead letter. The varieties of farming comprise fruit growing, cereal cultivation, dairying, vegiculture and tobacco planting, and the methods are in accordance with the most advanced scientific principles, the farmers having the benefit of guidance from the Agricultural Experiment Station at Tel-Aviv, which experts have pronounced to be one of the finest institutions of its kind in the world. The developments in the country have been

paralleled by those in the towns. New residential quarters have been built in the suburbs of Jerusalem, Haifa and Tiberias, while the Jewish township of Tel-Aviv, which had only 2,000 inhabitants in 1914, now boasts of 40,000. Factories, mills and workshops have sprung up in all districts, industrial development has been furthered by an extensive electrification scheme, including power stations at Jaffa, Haifa and Tiberias, and commerce has been promoted by the credits supplied by the Anglo-Palestine Company, the General Mortgage Bank and other Jewish financial institutions.

In the domain of social welfare and cultural work considerable progress has also been achieved. A complete medical service has been organized, with hospitals, clinics and infant welfare centres. The Zionist educational organization, with over 222 schools of all grades and 20,000 pupils, embraces 80 per cent of all the Jewish schools and 70 per cent of the Jewish school children. The language of instruction is Hebrew, which has been adapted to all modern requirements of thought and science and has, indeed, become the ordinary medium of intercourse in Jewish life. Advanced technical training is provided at the Haifa Technical Institute, and the crowning feature of Jewish education consists of the Hebrew University, which comprises several scientific departments, institutes of Jewish studies and Oriental studies, and a library of 200,000 volumes. Moreover, the muses are also cultivated with zest. Hebrew drama and opera are regular features of social life; there are concerts galore; artists, painters and sculptors have begun to give expression to the inspiration derived from the new Judaea; while the production and publication of books and periodicals has grown into a busy industry.

The driving and directing force in the development of the Jewish National Home has been the Zionist organization, which has raised about \$3,750,000 a year by means of volun-

tary contributions from Jews in all parts of the world in order to pay for the land acquired and for the various social, economic and cultural activities. Other and smaller bodies, as well as private individuals, have also participated in this task of civilization, and the total sum which they are all estimated to have brought into Palestine amounts to over £40,000,000. The Jews, although forming only 20 per cent of the entire population, contribute 42 per cent of the government's revenue. On the other hand, the government has contributed very little directly to the furtherance of the Jewish National Home, its financial support being confined to an educational grant, which rose slowly from \$10,000 to \$100,000 a year, although the expenditure on the Zionist schools alone amounts to over \$750,000, while \$580,000 a year is expended on Arab education.

A survey of the events of the past decade makes it difficult to conclude that the necessary sympathy has been shown or the necessary energy applied in whatever measures have been taken by the British Government for the fulfillment of its pledge. The military administration, which had governed the country until the middle of 1920, made no secret of its hostility to the policy of the Jewish National Home, and as unfortunately many of its responsible officials remained in the civil administration, the spirit of antipathy continued. The Palestine Government, while devoting itself actively to the general improvement of the country, has, for the most part, adopted a passive attitude toward the development of the Jewish National Home in so far as it has not actually obstructed it. Its policy appears to have been actuated more by anxiety to deprive the Arab leaders of any legitimate ground for demanding the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration than by genuine desire to fulfill the historic promise to the Jewish people.

Thus, immigration, even of persons of means, has been subjected to the

most rigorous and vexatious control, so that only the most pertinacious succeed in getting through the complicated mesh of regulations and have the privilege of paying a landing tax of one pound sterling for entering their National Home; in May, 1921, immigration was temporarily stopped, and in May, 1930, 2,300 immigration permits authorized by the Palestine Government were indefinitely suspended by order of the British Government.

Thus, also, the mandatory power has ignored the article of the mandate that obliges it to encourage the close settlement of Jews on State and waste lands not required for public purposes, while it allotted over 100,000 acres at Beisan to a number of Arab squatters, who could neither pay the requisite fees nor undertake the cultivation of their plots, and who thereupon offered their surplus land at enhanced prices to the Jews, who had difficulty in obtaining the government's permission to buy. Moreover, several Jewish officials in the senior service have been squeezed out; certain departments, such as that of Public Health, severely bar all Jewish employees; and Hebrew, which is declared by the mandate to be one of the three official languages, receives scant respect from the authorities in their relations with the Jewish people.

The most serious reflection upon the administration of the mandate, however, consists in the fact that on three occasions, in 1920, 1921 and 1929, unprovoked attacks, involving loss of life and property, were made by the Arabs upon the Jews, which the government was powerless to prevent.

The third attack upon the Jews was not only the most savage and destructive, but also the most far-reaching in its consequences. The British Government sent out a commission of inquiry under Sir Walter Shaw to ascertain the immediate causes of the outbreak and to recommend steps to be taken to prevent a recurrence. The

commission trespassed beyond its terms of reference and took evidence from the Arabs that had no bearing at all upon the causes of the outbreak, but touched the very core of the policy of the Jewish National Home. The Prime Minister declared in the House of Commons on Dec. 23, 1929, that major questions affecting the future administration of the mandate were "clearly outside the terms of reference of the Shaw Commission and cannot be made part of its report."

Nevertheless, such major questions formed a large and significant part of the report, the commission pronouncing judgment and making recommendations in regard to questions of land, immigration, constitutional reform and interpretations of the mandate, for which its members were not qualified either by training or experience. They allowed their attention to be diverted by the astute Arab leaders, conscious of the difficulty of disproving that they had been the aggressors, from the acts of murder and pillage to the alleged economic grievances and political aspirations of the Arab population.

The government, impressed by the argument of the report that the outbreak was the product of the general fear of the Arabs that their political and economic future was threatened by the increasing settlement of Jews, although the evidence clearly showed that it had been organized by responsible Arab leaders and was not the outcome of a popular movement, despatched a special commissioner, Sir John Hope Simpson, to Palestine to report on the question of land, immigration and settlement.

The Shaw report was searchingly criticized by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, which refused to accept its conclusion that the anti-Jewish attack had not been premeditated and passed strictures upon the mandatory power for its lack of foresight and preparedness. The Mandates Commission declared that the "charge against the Palestine

Government that it has not fulfilled, by actual deeds, the obligation to encourage the establishment of the Jewish National Home, has been notably reinforced by the fact that the government has shown itself unable to provide the essential conditions for the development of the Jewish National Home—security for persons and property." It observed that the government should have concerned itself more closely with the social and economic adaptation of the Arab population to the new conditions due to Jewish immigration, and that "any uncertainty or hesitation in regard to the application of the various provisions of the mandate must have led extremists in both camps to seek by propaganda and force to obtain what the mandate * * * could not give them." The Mandates Commission distinguished between the objects of the mandate and the immediate obligations of the mandatory. It defined as the objects the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the establishment of self-governing institutions and it described as the obligation "placing the country under such conditions" (Article 2) as will secure those two objects.

The British Government, in its written and detailed reply, rebutted the criticisms passed upon the findings of the Shaw Commission and repelled the reproaches directed at its policy. It declared that it was not its duty to establish the Jewish National Home but that was "the function of the Jews themselves." It defined its own responsibility as consisting in "placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home * * * and the development of self-governing institutions, and also the safeguarding of the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion," and it observed that the difficulty, "serious enough in itself," in fulfilling the first

two objects, was further increased by the addition of the third.

The tartness of the British rejoinder prompted M. Procope, the *Rapporteur* of the Mandates Commission, at the meeting of the Council of the League in September, to adopt a somewhat more conciliatory tone and, while not receding from its position, to emphasize the points of agreement between them, and Mr. Henderson, the British Foreign Secretary, in his reply followed suit. The latter declared that the obligations laid down by the mandate in regard to the two sections of the population were of equal weight, that these two obligations were in no sense irreconcilable, and that it was the fixed determination of the British Government that "their policy in Palestine shall be governed by these two fundamental principles."

The exchange of views, written and verbal, between the Mandates Commission and the Mandatory that thus took place constituted up to that time the most decisive and authoritative exposition, from their respective angles, of the duties of the Mandatory in regard to Palestine that had been made since the mandate came into force. It was satisfactory that the discussion ended on a friendly note, but it would be difficult to say that the British Government completely vindicated its actions or justified its omissions. The attitude that it adopted confirmed the departure, previously revealed, from the formulae and phraseology used by responsible British statesmen in the early period of their relations with the Zionist leaders. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the British Government had been forced to modify its original policy in regard to the Jewish National Home by the violent opposition displayed by the Arab leaders in Palestine; the stoppage of immigration in 1921 and the suspension of immigration certificates in 1930 were both consequences, direct or indirect, of Arab outrages. It is not

strictly correct that the establishment of the Jewish National Home is "the duty of the Jews themselves, directed by the Jewish Agency," for the latter has the statutory right of advising and cooperating with the administra-

tion of Palestine in matters affecting the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and hence the administration is clearly obliged to give a meed of active cooperation in this work.

II

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

Professor of History, University of Illinois

THE long-expected report of Sir John Hope Simpson on conditions in Palestine was published by the British Government on Oct. 20, and at the same time a White Paper was issued in which was set forth the future policy of the British Government in the administration of its mandate. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, strongly impressed with the idea that the British plans are hopelessly at variance with the aims of his two organizations, wrote immediately to Lord Passfield, Secretary of State for the Colonies, that he intended to resign as President of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. He also transmitted vigorous protests from these two organizations.

Sir John Simpson's appointment was primarily for the purpose of investigating the relationship of the people in Palestine to the land, with special reference to the acquisition by Jews of land held by the government or held by Arabs. This was closely bound up with the problems of Jewish immigration and of the government's relation to the development of the country. Taxation, crops, methods of cultivation, manufacture of local products, and labor organization were also drawn into the discussion. Sir John found fault with the plan of the Jewish Foundation Fund for leasing land to Jewish colonies and prohibiting Arabs from being employed upon such land. The adminis-

tration, he maintained, is obliged both "to insure that the position of the Arabs is not prejudiced by Jewish immigration" and "to encourage the close settlement of the Jews on the land. It is only possible to reconcile these apparently conflicting duties by an active policy of agricultural development, having as its object close settlement on the land and intensive cultivation by both Arabs and Jews."

The Simpson report recommended the development of cooperation between the Jewish agencies and the government to prevent artificial inflation of land values. Because the fall in the value of produce has amounted to about 50 per cent since the Turkish tithe was commuted into cash payments, taxation has become excessive, and pending a readjustment, the tithe should be suspended, or should be made to vary with the average market price of produce. Although land registration fees ought to be reduced, the expenditure for education should be increased and the Departments of Education and Agriculture should cooperate closely.

Some industries, the report continues, seem unduly protected by the import tariff and the wine industry is overtaxed. But the chemical industry will become very important "if the Dead Sea concession proves successful," and small industries tend to increase rapidly, if suited to the country. Although any attempt to develop a large-scale textile industry in Pales-

tine would be a dangerous speculation Arab industries should receive encouragement. The General Federation of Jewish Labor has not acted altogether wisely with regard to immigrants and immigration, and the whole question of Arab unemployment needs to be studied, because, while Arab workmen are unemployed, it is not fair to import Jewish workmen from foreign countries. A development commission might well be set up to deal with land problems, and in that case 85 to 90 per cent of money expended ought to be recoverable from the projects aided. Thus "the standard of life of the fellahen [the Arab peasants] * * * could be raised so that it would permit reasonable conditions of livelihood to the backward class of the community and a margin of land could at the same time be provided for the purpose of colonization for not less than 20,000 families of settlers from the outside." (This suggests that 100,000 Jews may be added to the 150,000 in Palestine.) But the success of any scheme of development depends on the support of both Jew and Arab together with the assistance of the mandatory power.

The government administration of Palestine rests on the terms of the mandate "which stipulates that such administration must be equally just, fair and considerate of all the inhabitants of that country, regardless of race or religion." The view of Sir John Hope Simpson that the Arabs are not receiving sufficient consideration in the allocation of arable land now available, and that Jewish immigration needs closer regulation until more lands are developed for settlement and better provision is made for landless Arabs, are used together with the results of previous investigations as the basis of the new statement of British policy. Jewish settlers "have had every advantage that capital, science and organization could give them. To these and to the energy of the settlers themselves their remarkable progress is due. On the other hand, the Arab population, while lack-

ing the advantages enjoyed by the Jewish settlers, has by an excess of births over deaths increased rapidly while the land available for its sustenance has decreased by about 250,000 acres. This area has passed into Jewish hands." At present no margin of land is available for agricultural settlement work except what the Jewish organization holds in reserve, while the unoccupied land held by the government is negligible. A margin for further settlement can be created only by increasing productivity. Out of regard for the number of unemployed Arabs, "his Majesty's Government consider their suspension of immigration under the labor schedule last May fully justified." The future peace and prosperity of Palestine depend largely upon improvement in the relations of Jews and Arabs, and this cannot under present conditions take place if Jewish immigration causes Arabs to suspect that they are thereby being thrown out of work. The General Federation of Jewish Labor has infringed upon the rights of the mandatory power in stipulating that Jewish settlers must not employ Arab labor.

Apparently by far the most important decision of the British Government is to proceed at once and effectively to set up a new form of government for Palestine. This will consist of a High Commissioner with a Legislative Council of twenty-two men; ten will be official and appointed by the British Government, twelve will be unofficial and chosen by a system of primary and secondary elections. The council will include both Jews and Moslems. If any part of the community fails for any reason to choose its representatives by ballot, the High Commissioner has the power of appointment. He also will retain the power to carry out the British Government's obligations to the League of Nations by urgent legislative acts and by maintenance of order.

The British Government's statement ends with an earnest appeal to

Jews and Arabs to cooperate with each other and with the mandatory power.

Dr. Weizmann, in justifying his resignation from the Zionist leadership (which, however, is not to take effect until the meeting of the World Zionist Congress in February), declared that the new statement of the British Government was in conflict with four previous statements, the mandate, the White Paper of 1922, the Prime Minister's declaration of April 3, 1930, and the pronouncement of the Permanent Mandates Commission in the Summer of 1930. If Jewish immigration is to be restricted because unemployment already exists among the Arabs, then the sending of Jewish capital to Palestine to create employment for Jewish immigrants and thus to promote the growth of the Jewish national home must cease. Dr. Weizmann affirms that in consequence of Zionist activity "neither civil nor religious rights of the non-Jewish community in Palestine has suffered, but rather that this community's economic position has been definitely improved. For the British Government to recognize an obligation to settle every landless Arab and his family on the land is a "far-reaching and novel" principle which goes beyond every implication in the mandate and will seriously hamper the development of the Jewish national home.

The publication of the British documents coincided with the final session of the American Jewish Congress. A vigorous resolution was adopted which attacked the failure of the British Government "to create the political, economic and administrative conditions essential to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine," and characterized the Simpson report as "biased and contrary to the terms and spirit of the mandate."

Zionist Jews throughout the world were aroused to expressions of strong indignation. Felix M. Warburg resigned from his position as chairman

of the administrative committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and Lord Melchett resigned as chairman of the council and of the political committee of the Jewish Agency. Mr. Warburg said that "the Passfield declaration is a cruel and unfair betrayal by the British Government of its trusteeship." By the new plan "the financing of the agricultural program is to be for the Arab population largely, to be refunded by taxes on Palestine, which naturally will have to be paid in the main by the Jews of Palestine, who carry a disproportionate share of the burden of taxation." Jewish immigration is to be totally restricted and the purchase of land is to be surrounded with difficulties such as to make it impossible. Mr. Warburg declared that he had been misled by Lord Passfield and made "the innocent vehicle of mis-statements to my colleagues of the Jewish Agency."

Lord Melchett considered the new declaration an "act of almost unparalleled ingratitude and treachery committed by a government toward a credulous and harassed people who believed they had found a haven under the broad aegis of the British flag and the guaranteed word of British statesmen." Lord Melchett held that Sir John Hope Simpson was sent to Palestine in violation of the mandate, because the government did not previously consult the Jewish Agency.

A letter was published on Oct. 23 signed by the Conservative leaders, Stanley Baldwin, Sir Austen Chamberlain and L. S. Amery, which contained severe criticism of Premier MacDonald's Government's new policy in Palestine. They asserted that the British Government had abandoned one side of a twofold obligation, departing from the whole spirit of the Balfour Declaration and subsequent statements, so as to stop the progress of the Jewish National Home.

On the following day the leader of the Liberal Party, David Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister when the Balfour Declaration was

made, joined in the chorus of disapproval of the new policy.

Dr. Weizmann in further declarations expressed disapproval of the threat of American Zionists to launch an anti-British movement and affirmed his belief that the British Parliament and people were not behind this new action of their government. He announced his intention of consulting legal authorities on the question whether the British declaration is not a contravention of the terms of the Palestine mandate, with the thought of an eventual appeal to the League of Nations.

The only encouragement which Palestinian Jews found in their first consideration of the British statements was the suggestion that 20,000 additional Jewish families might be settled on the land. Some calculated optimistically that an addition of 100,000 to the Jewish agricultural population would support 300,000 in industrial occupations, thus allowing Jewish expansion in Palestine ultimately to reach 550,000. The Jewish National Council urged calmness, but decided to advise Palestinian Jews to abstain from any participation in the proposed legislative council.

Palestinian Arabs, on the other hand, were inclined to rejoice. The proposed legislative council will allow them much less influence than they have been demanding, and they expressed the intention of proposing certain modifications. But they appeared to feel that on the whole the British decision was distinctly favorable to them.

Indications were that when every one calmed down it would be seen that the action of the present British Government was not actually novel but a logical continuation of British policy since 1917. The promise was not that Palestine should be a national home for the Jews but that the Jews should have a national home in Palestine. The Balfour Declaration itself reserves the rights of the Arab popu-

lation already in the land. When the terms of the mandate added to these two conditions the obligation of providing self-governing institutions, the British Government had a task of extraordinary difficulty. For years the statement has been repeated that political Zionism, in the sense of an ultimate Jewish State in Palestine, is dead. Dr. Weizmann himself very recently spoke for a State composed of both Jews and Arabs. Of all the comments quoted above none can be considered impartial. Zionists who see restrictions upon their aims are naturally aggrieved; British Conservative and Liberal statesmen are open to the suspicion of seeking party capital at the expense of the Labor Government. The Labor Government itself has been accused of favoring Arabs in Palestine in order to please Mohammedans in India, whose support is desired in pending negotiations, but this, if true, is of minor importance. A sincere and honest effort has been made to solve an almost insoluble problem.

This interpretation of the situation is borne out by the statement of Prime Minister MacDonald at the opening session of the House of Commons on Oct. 28. Mr. Baldwin asked whether the White Paper issued recently by Lord Passfield, Colonial Secretary, meant that Great Britain was going to change its Palestine policy, and, if so, was it not breaking its word. "The White Paper does not mean that," said Mr. MacDonald. "In the spirit of the mandate and sticking strictly to the letter of the mandate, we are straightening out the differences between contradictory parts of certain declarations. Nothing has amazed me more than the extraordinary intentions attributed to the Colonial Office and the government on account of this White Paper." [Further developments in connection with the Palestine Mandate are treated under "The Near and Middle East" in *The Month's History of the Nations* elsewhere in this magazine.]

Dual Citizenship an International Problem

By JOSEPH CONRAD FEHR
International Lawyer

THE fact that under Swiss law President Hoover is still Swiss and technically subject to military service in Switzerland just because his original ancestor, a man then going by the name of Huber, came to this country from Switzerland more than a hundred years ago, illustrates how seriously as well as absurd the doctrine of dual nationality can be.

The annoyances to United States citizens resulting from dual nationality have become so obnoxious that Congress on May 28, 1928, passed a joint resolution requesting the President to negotiate with nations not yet parties to naturalization treaties with this country in order to protect American citizens from forced military or naval service when temporarily sojourning in the countries of their own or their parents' origin. The chief aim of this resolution is world-wide recognition of an individual's right to voluntary expatriation from his native land and subsequent naturalization as a citizen or subject of another country, and of the immunity of persons born in the United States of parents having the nationality of another country from liability for military and other services in the latter.

By way of reaction the Italian Government announced that henceforth her sons who are now citizens of other countries are free to visit in Italy in time of peace with exemption from

military service. Heretofore Italy was perhaps the most obstinate of all the nations in declining to enter into naturalization treaties with the United States, because under Italian law subjects of Italy remain liable for military service in Italy even though naturalized abroad. France, Switzerland, Russia and Turkey are only a few of the other countries which regard a native-born American citizen as a subject of their own countries because of his father's original allegiance. As long as the United States makes the same claim concerning children born abroad of American parents it is a foregone conclusion that the Department of State and Congress will have to make some concessions in order to obtain the desired result.

While native-born or naturalized American citizens stay out of countries where they or their parents were born and owed original allegiance they are given the full protection which the United States accords to all its citizens. Complications arise, however, when these American citizens enter the countries of their own or their fathers' birth. During the World War there were thousands of former Italians, Frenchmen and Russians, who, though naturalized American citizens, were called to the colors by their native land, and the United States was practically helpless to prevent their impressment into such mili-

tary service. In time of war such chaotic conditions are of course excusable. But when in time of peace these foreign nations assess military taxes against their former citizens or subjects and seek to collect them in the countries of their adoption, it is high time that steps be taken to remedy matters. Switzerland, for instance, has attached to her legation in Washington a tax collector specially commissioned by his government to collect military taxes not alone from Swiss citizens temporarily residing in the United States but from naturalized Swiss-born American citizens as well. Altogether there are thirteen nations that make essentially the same astonishing claims as Switzerland. Although the United States is by far the greatest sufferer on account of the dual nationality doctrine, the Department of State has been in a difficult position with regard to the matter, first, because of the lack of a naturalization treaty with Switzerland, and, second, because of the lack of a satisfactory agreement among nations concerning the status and obligations of persons born in one country of parents having the nationality of another.

The United States already has naturalization treaties with Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and a number of countries in the Western Hemisphere. Under these treaties the parties recognize that when one of their natives becomes a citizen of the United States he thereby expatriates himself as a citizen or subject of the country of his birth, and vice versa. But no treaties have as yet been concluded with France, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Netherlands, Poland, Persia, Rumania, Russia, Spain, Switzerland and Turkey. Meanwhile more than 100,000 former Frenchmen, about 100,000 former Greek subjects, nearly 1,000,000 former Italian subjects, approximately 100,000 former citizens of what is now Yugoslavia,

about 10,000 former citizens of Latvia and Turkey, about 100,000 former subjects of The Netherlands, about 500,000 former citizens of Poland, more than 50,000 former subjects of Rumania, about 1,000,000 erstwhile subjects of Russia, about 10,000 former subjects of Spain, approximately 100,000 former citizens of the various cantonal governments of the Swiss Federation and about 4,000 former citizens of the present Turkish Republic are claimed as citizens by two countries. That is to say, there are now in this country in the neighborhood of 3,000,000 fully naturalized American citizens whose allegiance is also claimed by the countries in which they were born. These figures are exclusive of the countless Americans born in the United States of parents who owe allegiance to foreign countries. These native-born Americans are faced with dual nationality even when their fathers have become American citizens by naturalization.

An interesting case illustrative of dual nationality complications was recently decided by the late Judge Edwin B. Parker, sole commissioner of the Tripartite Claims Commission between the United States and Austria and Hungary. The claimant was born in the United States of Austrian parents who took him back to Austria while still a child. Upon the outbreak of the World War he was subjected to suffering and privation through internment and then impressed into the military service of Austria-Hungary. Under the laws of the United States he was obviously an American national by birth, but under the laws of Austria he was an Austrian by reason of the nationality of his parents. The evidence showed that while residing within the Austro-Hungarian Empire in August, 1914, he was subjected to preventive arrest as a propagandist in favor of Russia and later interned and forced to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, the authorities ignoring his protestations of American

citizenship. In 1915 and subsequently representatives of the United States Government in Austria endeavored unsuccessfully to secure the claimant's release. In July, 1916, he deserted from the Austrian Army and escaped into Russia, where he was held as a prisoner of war until the outbreak of the Kerensky revolution. On the strength of these facts the commissioner ruled that under the law of Austria, to which he had voluntarily subjected himself, he was an Austrian citizen and that "the Austro-Hungarian authorities were well within their rights in dealing with him as such."

The United States is also a party to the Pan-American convention of 1906 which undertook to fix the status of naturalized citizens who again take up their residence in the country of their origin. This convention is adhered to by Ecuador, Paraguay, Colombia, Honduras, Panama, Peru, Salvador, Costa Rica, Mexico, Guatemala, Uruguay, the Argentine Republic, Nicaragua, Brazil and Chile. Many citizenship complications characteristic of our relations with European nations have been avoided through this convention. Its provisions are similar in substance to those of the naturalization treaties.

The United States is, furthermore, entitled to the advantage of the provision contained in the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon, which put an end to the World War and guaranteed the recognition by Germany, Austria and Hungary of the naturalization of their former nationals in other countries. In view of the fact that France, Italy and Switzerland are the countries which afford

the principal complaints with respect to forced military service and military taxes, to the great annoyance of American citizens of Italian, French or Swiss origin, no real progress can be made until these countries are willing to adopt the policy which the United States and Great Britain have long since accepted in principle.

The World War served to demonstrate in wholesale fashion the many diverse nationality absurdities by reason of the dual nationality doctrine. Obviously it is unsound to draw a line of distinction between native-born citizens, on the one hand, and naturalized citizens on the other, and for a government to grant certain rights and privileges to the one class of citizens and not to the other. Nevertheless, the international conference of lawyers which met at The Hague last March under the auspices of the League of Nations failed to reach an agreement satisfactory to the United States concerning termination of dual nationality, and the status of naturalized citizens, in spite of the strong pleas put forward by the United States representatives. However, the conference adopted a special convention under which persons born with the nationality of two countries shall, while residing in one of them, be exempt from the performance of military service in the other. It is believed that this convention, the adoption of which was due largely to the arguments of the United States delegates in the Nationality Committees, if signed by the United States would benefit thousands of persons born in the United States and continuing to reside in this country.

The Passing of the Church College

By ANDREW D. HARMON

Former President of Transylvania College

IN the judgment of an increasing number of representative educators and university executives, church colleges face a precarious future.

By church college is meant that traditional, fixed institution of higher education under the support and direction of denominational Christianity. It carries a student body ranging usually from 200 to 400, and builds its program of offerings around the college of liberal arts, with its strongest major in professional education, and with a traditional and somewhat indifferent emphasis upon religion. There are about 400 colleges of this type in the United States at the present time.

Until the '70s the church college furnished almost exclusively the training for the ministry, law, medicine, and for that class of people who live lives of "genteel" citizenship. It can challenge with satisfaction the tax-supported institutions by pointing out the fact that Congressmen, Senators, Presidents, Supreme Court Justices, diplomats, men and women of letters, and men and women of professional distinction have come largely by the way of its halls.

Today, however, there are definite trends indicating the removal of the historic church college from the field of education. Most important among these are the junior college movement

and the now established curricula of the standard four-year college.

The junior college, as an integral part of the public school system, is simply two years of general academic culture, such as is now covered by the freshman and sophomore years of a four-year college, imposed on top of the high school course. It is coming faster than did the high school in its inception. It has made its advent in the past ten years and notably in the last three. The junior college movement has come out of a response to the moral and academic losses incident to children taking over the direction of their own lives away from home in a different and strange environment. The average age at which boys and girls finish high school and are ready for college is 17 years and 4 months. The inability of college and universities to supervise and direct this irresponsible mass of young life has become apparent. The junior college, as a part of the high school, refers this responsibility back to the home and community where it logically belongs.

To the extent that the junior college grows in favor, it strikes a mortal blow against the most popular half of the small church college. Mental tests and I. Q. ratings are not infallible guides, but sufficient data have been gathered from these sources to reveal the fact that there is a high school-junior college type of mind, and there

is a senior college-university type of mind. The former does not have the depth and grasp to do senior college work. The junior and senior colleges, though automatically two parts of one whole, lie in different mental zones.

The curriculum of the church college is now determined by the dominant occupational and professional pattern of the tax-supported institutions. It is divided into two distinct parts, the first two years of general culture and the last two years of majors in the field of the student's life interest. Whatever profession or calling a student plans to enter, he does his broad preliminary work that leads up to his highly technical training in the last two years of his college course. These two divisions of the regular four-year college course are so distinctly organized into units that they are now called junior and senior colleges, and some institutions grant certificates at the end of the junior and diplomas at the end of the senior college.

This arrangement carries the student direct from high school and junior college into the institution that tunes his total college work into his ultimate professional majors. The mind of a real student tends to think in complete patterns. It is unnatural and illogical for a student bent upon a profession to divide his educational preparation between a church college that can offer only part of his training, and that too often uncorrelated, and a State university that offers the entirety of his training in a unified whole.

If now the junior college takes over the first two years of the church college's offerings, and the State university offers an academic premium to the prospective student for the last two years, what has the church college left to offer in either the academic or professional field except training in religion? Even if it could offer as strong work in the last two years as the university, it is at a decided disadvantage. A two-year senior

college standing alone is an unnatural unit. It is neither related to anything below, nor connected to anything above, on the same campus.

The church college's future would seem, therefore, to necessitate the addition of at least two years of offerings above the A. B. degree. This would give it a four-year body and constitute a natural unit. But this enters the graduate field and encounters the inhibitions of high cost. It costs 70 per cent more to offer work in the junior and senior years which constitute the senior college than it does in the freshman and sophomore years which constitute the junior college, and about three times as much to offer work in the graduate field as it does in the undergraduate field. The church college cannot command the money to carry its work above the regular four-year course and to compete in graduate work with the better-equipped tax-supported institutions in a manner that will captivate the imagination of youth.

Despite the enormous money-raising campaigns of church colleges in recent years, they are further from being adequately financed than before their campaigns. The cost of education rises faster than the church's ability to assemble funds.

The American public school system has become so unified and so progressive from the kindergarten to the university that the presence of another system is beginning to be regarded as an unnatural and illogical intrusion. One and two generations ago the church college was central in public thinking, the State college was marginal. The impact of our total public educational system upon the American mind in this generation has made the tax-supported institution central and the church college marginal. The average mind unconsciously reasons that if the State can furnish competent education up to the end of high school, why not to the end of college; if for twelve years, why not for sixteen years? By implication and logic

of institutional life a child is taught from the time it enters at the bottom of our public school system that its exit will be at the top. When a church college administrator, therefore, enters a high school to solicit students he is often received as an intruder into a natural order. He is a proselyter for a competing system.

The hitherto undisputed claim that the church college carried a more wholesome moral and spiritual atmosphere has been a compelling argument in its favor. But this claim is seriously questioned today. The requirements of standardizing agencies have compelled church colleges to shift their emphasis from morality to scholarship. This has changed the whole mental pattern and modified the spirit of church colleges. They have not developed in recent years along lines that express the urge and soul of vital Christianity. They have given up their natural element of greatest strength, religion, and taken up the tax-supported institution's element of greatest weakness, standardization.

In contrast with the church college's easing up on the religious emphasis is the fact that the State universities are moving rapidly and hospitably toward religion. Thus, the State University of Iowa has placed the teaching of the Bible in the college of liberal arts upon the same basis both as to competency of instruction and credits as history, botany and other subjects. This is done by a unique experimental plan, whereby the university and a board made up from several denominations, including Jews and Catholics, cooperate. The plan eliminates sectarianism and conserves pure religion. Many of the State universities now offer credit courses in the Bible. The scientific recognition in this generation of the place of religion in civilization and individual living has changed the attitude of State universities upon this subject. The once opprobrious epithet "ungodly State university" is no longer heard.

The forces that terminate institutions have a long drift, but they move inexorably. Usually the change is at hand before society is aware. The passing of the church college is now taking place and most of its devotees are looking upon the transition; some are even players in the drama and do not recognize it. They are moving toward their end along four lines:

1. Those colleges that are well endowed and have an unoccupied field have for a time a grip on life. It cannot, however, be regarded as permanent.

2. Church colleges situated in cities where there are no State colleges are moving rapidly toward municipal institutions. The city either takes them over and supports them from taxes, or the board is modified from a distinct church board to a private independent board that represents the various religious, economic and social groups of the supporting municipality. This type has greatly increased in number in recent years.

3. Other church colleges are becoming junior colleges. Their field has been encroached upon by the State and their resources are too limited to survive competition. They change the type of their work from a four-year standard college to a junior college, which gives them a budget their resources can meet.

4. The colleges that have not already assembled sizable endowments, and do not have a natural territory from which to draw students and financial support, are being forced to the wall.

The Church pioneered the way in education and taught the State how to do the work. The germ of our educational system was laid in New England. It came out of the exigencies and blessings of that early pioneer life. The leaders of that group were highly educated according to the standards of that time. They were largely clergymen, men of great ability and force of character. Feeling the need of education in building a New World order and unable to transplant

the Old World system of education, they created one out of what was at hand. They established parish grammar schools under the control of the church board, with the parish preacher as teacher. But gradually the State emerged from the religio-political mixture of the time into a separate and distinct entity and set up free grammar schools based upon tax support and under public control. The Church did a splendid service thus in educating the State, but the pupil was too bright. It put the teacher out of the grammar school business by sheer competition.

The Church yielded the grammar schools to the State under protest and then began to establish academies in an effort to continue service in a field of education and to control education upon a higher level. Here again the Church pioneered, but it taught the State so well the value of higher education that the State paralleled the private academy with free public schools. The academies passed and the Church again protested.

Dispossessed by the State in the field of the grammar school and academy, the Church immediately entered upon a program of establishing colleges that she might still continue to serve and control education at the top. Many of her academies she expanded into colleges and she again possessed an exclusive field. But here also she did her work too well for her own life. The State was quick to see the value of collegiate training and appropriated her public domain and natural resources and used her enormous taxing power to develop the land grant colleges, State universities, agricultural and mechanical colleges, and normal schools. In the Central and Western States these institutions control and direct education.

The processes by which the State has dispossessed the Church at each step in the development of education are still operative, and unless these processes are met with some counterforce not now apparent the passing of the church college is a mere contest against time.

Abuses of Radio Broadcasting

By HENRY VOLKENING

THERE are more than six hundred radio stations in the United States. Morning, noon and night, every day of the year, they send forth their words and music over the uncomplaining ether, through the mouths of the loud-speakers of 12,500,000 receiving sets, and into the more or less attentive ears of 56,000,000 listeners, each of whom they entertain for an estimated average of over two hours a day. These stations, in 1930 alone, will have projected their sugar-coated advertisements into 40,000,000,000 of the idle hours of the American people.

Ten years ago this vast cacophonous sales mart of today was still in its first experimental stages, and it was not until November, 1926, that the transmission of elaborate programs was made possible by the formation of the National Broadcasting Company, and shortly thereafter of the Columbia Broadcasting System, whose combined networks now include 148 important stations. When, in 1920, KDKA of East Pittsburgh first attempted the broadcasting of regularly scheduled programs, business men looked upon this new wireless development as an interesting but commercially unprofitable "stunt." Today the air is crowded with competing programs from 6 A. M. to midnight, and the executives of our large corporations have come to realize the hitherto unimagined possibilities of the radio as a new and great medium for increasing good-will and sales among a larger public than they have ever been able to reach before.

Nothing in American history has paralleled this mushroom growth. Although as recently as five years ago money spent upon radio advertising was negligible, in 1929 national advertisers paid almost \$19,000,000 for network broadcasting alone. Preliminary reports for the first seven months indicate that by the end of 1930 this total will rise to at least \$28,000,000. The exploitation of the air is as yet too new a business to have its development retarded by a depression.

Since the "circulation" of broadcasting is now thought to be larger than that of all the nation's newspapers, several national advertisers no longer hesitate to spend \$300,000 to \$500,000 annually for air time and air talent. And every month a few more skeptics are capitulating to the advantages of radio advertising. A manufacturing concern whose officers have long doubted its wisdom has recently arranged with one of the "chains" to spend \$33,000 for the privilege of entertaining the nation's listeners for only two hours. Effective merchandising "tie-ins" will bring the total cost of this sales promotion campaign to \$100,000.

There is no longer room for doubt that radio advertising is profitable. More than 300 nationally known companies, selling everything from automobiles, drugs, foods and radios to clothing, confectionery, bonds and books, now use one of the two great networks. Innumerable testimonials describe the gratifying responses that broadcasting has brought. An investment house increased its bond

business in 1929, a year of notorious indifference to anything but speculation. A large cigarette manufacturing concern has bettered its sales in two months by 47 per cent, "largely due to our broadcasting program." The radio audience has been taught to think and speak of a program in terms of its sponsor, to express loyal appreciation in letters, and to demonstrate gratitude with purchases.

In 1928 the National Broadcasting Company alone received from its audience over 2,000,000 letters, most of them commendatory, and all of them associating intimately, though not always logically, each program with its sponsor. Listeners have without protest, and in many cases with positive pleasure, come to think of entertainment and advertising as being practically one and the same thing. For instance, in a typical letter, a pharmacy [sic] of Buffalo expressed thanks for a jazz band in this way: "Your program is surely wonderful and we enjoy your artists. Our customers and clerks listen to your program. Have a wonderful business on [your ginger ale]."

Response often comes more directly than by mail. An oil company announces a new gasoline. An hour later four cars drive up to a filling station to try it! A farmer drives twenty-five miles to the branch office of a large utility company to express his appreciation of its band. "I have come to the conclusion," he says, "that any company that has sufficient enterprise to furnish radio audiences with such concerts free of charge is a good company in which to invest my money and I have come here to buy some of your stock."

If the public likes the program the product will sell. And the public *must* like the program, or the advertiser will cease broadcasting, station profits will stop and there will be no one to pay the huge bills. This is the vicious circle from which there is no complete escape. Programs may indeed improve, as they already have in the past few

years. But progress will be slow, for it must always be remembered that, except perhaps in the sale of a few articles such as pianos, the ultimate dictators of programs will always be that majority of listeners whose support, as one radio advertising man put it, can best be won by programs appealing to a 15-year-old intelligence.

Thus the whole great commercial system of broadcasting has brought us programs that, for the most part, tickle the tastes of the mentally deficient. No wonder the officers and advisers of the networks, perhaps a little dazed by this huge intellectual waste, have been inviting free educational experiments, saying they were eager to cooperate in every way to raise the quality of programs. But an incredible complacency characterizes most of their trite and stilted speeches, and there is an aura of ultimate dividends about them all. So far there is not much room for optimism except in the field of music, and even here a casual examination of programs will show what an overwhelming majority are superficial and educationally worthless. To date radio broadcasting in America has principally its gargantuan size to be proud of. Most of its other pretensions to progress come to nothing upon analysis.

It is claimed, for instance, that advertising has become so unobjectionable, so subtle, that enjoyment of programs is no longer interfered with by the intrusion of the mere mention of the sponsor's name. Certainly, we do not, in a fifteen-minute program, hear fifteen minutes of direct sales talk. But indirect promotion can be even more annoying because of the very transparency of the attempt to hide its commercialism. A series of songs about eyes is sponsored by an optician, a life insurance company broadcasts setting-up exercises and a roofing company gives a series of sketches about a fireman to prove that asbestos is best.

This is the sort of vulgarity the public loves, or so, at least, says the

advertising agent. But this same vulgarity may also account for the fact that a great many Americans choose to forego some real pleasures of the air rather than be forced to hear a ginger ale being sold with the repeatedly emphasized ginger of a cold and snappy running story.

The advertising man argues that a listener should have no more objection to commercial broadcasting than to advertisements in magazines or newspapers. But how utterly absurd is the comparison! One can read a story or a news item without even being conscious of the advertisements, while one cannot possibly listen to the songs of a certain pair of performers without listening also to the syncopated message of "socks, socks."

But these performers happen to be very popular with a large audience. And this representative fact blasts the further pretension that even if well-organized educational programs are rare, the radio audience has already greatly increased its appreciation for finer broadcasts by having listened to good features with the bad. It is true that Mr. Damrosch has brought excellent musical instruction to 25,000 children and that the National Broadcasting Company received 50,000 letters in a year commenting upon religious programs. But they also received 100,000 written protests when, not long ago, the time of a well-known feature was changed. A few thousand people may listen attentively to the assurances of Fosdick and the popular amenities of Cadman. But millions order their lives to suit a humorous broadcast. It is apparently still the comic strip that attracts the greatest audiences and consequently the greatest number of advertisers. This means that from 6 to 10 each evening, the four most valuable hours to stations and listeners both, the vast majority of programs cater to the complete critical collapse of the greatest number.

Where, then, in all this welter of sweets for children lies our hope for

the future? It lies, first in the rapidly increasing prosperity of the "chains," which will enable them, within limits, to sacrifice additional income for improvement; secondly, in the possible, eventual realization of advertisers that millions of Americans do not stop growing at 15, and, thirdly, in State subsidy of stations for educational purposes, of which the Ohio School of the Air is an existing example. In California and in New York City "air colleges" have been organized which, in a local way, will help to counteract the deadening superficiality of commercial programs. Real encouragement lies in such experiments, and these educational stations might, in time, be organized into networks that could give invaluable service, if only they do not succumb to popular clamor and political interference. It is high time that our radio educators admit that to deprive millions of a great opportunity in order to pamper those larger numbers who do "not eagerly seek education" is making an unreasonable fetish of democracy.

The greatest hope of all, however, lies in our learning some lessons from Europe, where, despite Mr. Aylesworth's assertion that "the art [of broadcasting] is several years behind its development in America," many countries have developed systems different from ours that deserve serious attention.

Of the 250 stations in twenty-seven countries of Europe that reach, both individually and through international hook-ups, 10,000,000 receiving sets and 45,000,000 listeners, it is only those of some of the smaller nations that present programs inferior to ours. Even Holland, Spain, Switzerland and France, where lack of vision, political rivalries and inadequate funds have hitherto made for chaotic situations, are now setting their houses in order with beneficial regulatory legislation.

Elsewhere we may envy the progress that has been made in every case without the help of advertisers. The

stations are owned and operated either by the governments themselves or by corporations to which concessions have been granted and over which the governments exercise considerable control either through stock ownership or through legal and clearly defined supervision. The difference is not important, since administration is in either case efficiently centralized. Programs are financed by the listeners, who pay the broadcasters a fixed monthly sum, the amount of which is based upon the strength of receiving sets or upon personal income, or, most generally, upon a flat and moderate rate that applies equally to every owner of a set.

Denmark claims the greatest proportion of listeners to population in the world. Norway, Sweden and Finland also broadcast to a large audience, for whom they have developed amazingly well coordinated educational programs. Italy has passed a law to compel theatre, opera and concert organizations to accept reasonable requests of stations to broadcast performances. Russia, where less than 1,000,000 sets were in use a year ago, hopes before long to have 12,000,000 in her territory. She has already made radio do her invaluable service in the broadcasting of propaganda, pronouncements, news, drama and educational talks, by which means she has managed to reach many millions of illiterate people who assemble at thousands of community headquarters to enjoy a contact with Moscow and Leningrad. Russia is not missing a single opportunity to employ every possible advantage of radio. Particularly in her well-planned school and college broadcasts she is shouldering the social responsibility of a tremendous new medium.

In Austria, Germany and England, three nations that have developed their programs intelligently, there are but fifty stations and fewer than 7,000,000 receiving sets. There is an average monthly charge of but 33 cents upon every owner of a receiving

set. Each listener pays this reasonable tax, directly, for the privilege of hearing programs from all the stations of Europe, instead of paying a vast indefinite sum, indirectly, as we do, for the necessity of having to choose those salesmen among 600 who will be the least offensive.

The Austrian programs are planned to please a highly critical audience. The people are quick to complain of poor quality music or of badly informed speakers. They will not tolerate profitless political controversy, campaign speeches, the jokes of announcers or the sort of contumelious religious and business tirades that several of our stations permit and encourage. They would be up in arms, says the director of Ravag in Vienna, at such stupidities as spelling contests and competitive broadcasts by children, and no one would even listen to the incredibly bad daytime talks of many of our stations. There are no unpaid "fill-ins" of the sort that we recruit from air-struck debutantes and unemployed vaudeville singers. Ravag pays, never exorbitantly but always well, to give its paying audience at all times the best available in Austria of entertainment and education.

The German stations, by devoting a great deal of attention to classical music and drama, "to please the intelligent one-third," and by allotting approximately 30 per cent of their air time to talks and lectures by well-known paid speakers, have succeeded in elevating the taste of all the people. Call the method autocratic if you like. It has at least been highly effective. America would do well to adopt it and to realize that the public whom we serve so grandly and so badly will never lift itself by its own boot-straps.

Wherever station directors have proceeded with their programs on the theory that the people must be taught what to want, there programs have improved. But nowhere has more vision gone into the development of broadcasting than in England. The

British Broadcasting Corporation, in attempting "to please 75 per cent of the listeners 75 per cent of the time," instead of 90 per cent of the listeners all of the time, has demonstrated what genuinely fine programs an enlightened ideal can produce. The B. B. C. devotes a sensible portion of each day to the light popular broadcasts with which we are familiar. The people do not lack diversion. But there the parallel ends. Realizing that it is difficult to draw a line between recreation and education, the directors of the B. B. C. and their advisers have gone ahead with program experimentation and betterment that have won the support of all classes of listeners.

The British listener lacks none of the good music that we must pluck from a heavenful of trash, and then be grateful for it to the courtesy of an advertiser. But the British listener has many things that we have not. When grand opera is to be broadcast, for instance, the B. B. C. offers librettos to its audience in advance of performances at 4 cents each. These give the seriously interested listener brief notes on the composer, a history of the opera and the sources of the story. Neatly bound paper booklets are sold by the thousand in connection with almost every educational broadcast. When a play is produced, whether it is by Shakespeare, Sheridan, Wilde, Strindberg, Ibsen, Yeats, Synge or Shaw, a prospective listener can immensely increase his enjoyment by purchasing one of the B. B. C.'s Great Play Booklets, which are always admirably edited. I have one of these before me. It is Gilbert Murray's translation of the *Electra* of Euripides, with an introduction by the translator, a synopsis of the story, a biographical sketch of Euripides, a note upon Greek tragedy, a discussion of the relationship of *Electra* and music, a description of the ancient Greek theatre and a half-dozen interesting illustrations. For 4 cents the listener can enjoy intelligently one of the greatest plays in the world!

"Broadcasting," says the Hadow committee, "is likely to become one of the most powerful forces in the modern world. Its dangers are obvious. Unless the highest standards are maintained, its pervasive influence may be a damaging one. Unless impartiality is carefully safeguarded, broadcasting may become a mere device for partisan propaganda. Without constant experiment and enterprise, without imagination and vision, it might tend to reduce public thinking and public taste to the dull level of the average. Without continual effort to stimulate the listener to play an active and not merely a passive part, the result of broadcasting might be to weaken individual thought and initiative and blunt the critical faculty."

In contrast to this statement of the B. B. C.'s ideals, one turns to the prophecy of an American radio advertising man who joyously and elegantly says, "Take it from me, the day is going to come when the big stuff on radio will be advertising, or sponsored programs, just as the big stuff today in the *Saturday Evening Post* is advertising." If there is truth in the rumor that a group of British and American business men are considering the purchase of a large Paris station, from which to broadcast expensive commercial programs, in English, to compete with the B. B. C., then that time may be nearer at hand than we know, and some of our radio performers may soon be taking a trip abroad.

Meanwhile Europe still stands with dignity upon firmer ground than we, and J. C. Squire is right when in the British Broadcasting Company's *Radio Times* he says: "Even in theory it is disgusting that we should not be able to listen to a Beethoven symphony without a quiet hint that we should buy coffee. In practice we should not, and the Americans do not, get very much Beethoven. All the advertisers are going for the largest public. One movement from Beethoven, for the sake of prestige, is quite enough."

Conflicting Ideals of Pan-Americanism

By J. LLOYD MECHAM

Associate Professor of Government, University of Texas

AFTER forty years of intensive propaganda and support by the United States, Pan-Americanism still lacks popular adherence in Latin America. This is because the actual operation of this cooperative American movement, dominated by the North American republic, falls far short of the ideal which is earnestly professed by Latin Americans.

American statesmen from Blaine to Coolidge have asserted with Latin-American publicists that Pan-American solidarity implies cooperative action by the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere to promote the political, economic, social and cultural good of all. Without exception, they have declared the central aim of Pan-Americanism to be the promotion of international cooperation in every possible way. But it is charged in Latin America that our Pan-American policy does not conform with these numerous platitudes. The statement of President Coolidge at the Havana conference that the rights of small nations must be respected was criticized as incompatible with contemporary marine activities in Nicaragua. American action in Central America and the Caribbean might be condoned, but not our unfortunate practice of pretense.

That there are conflicting ideals of Pan-Americanism, those professed by the United States and those by the Latin-American republics, becomes

apparent in any analysis of the origins and development of the movement.

Simón Bolívar, "the father of Pan-Americanism," advocated American cooperation, but his was cooperation far different from what is known today as Pan-Americanism. The great Liberator's aim was either through a permanent confederation or through a series of diplomatic congresses, to guarantee the independence and peace of the nations that had been Spanish colonies. Several times from 1826 to 1889 the Spanish-speaking republics of western and northern Hispanic America took part in congresses to promote union on an exclusively Hispanic American basis. But these efforts received little or no support and all ended in complete failure.

The organized international cooperation known today as Pan-Americanism was originated by Secretary Blaine in 1889, and has since then received its principal support in the United States. It differed from Bolívar's ideal in that it embraced all the American republics, and in that the idea of political guarantees was definitely subordinated to social, intellectual, and economic interests. It is this subordination of the political that has contributed to the ever-increasing Latin-American dissatisfaction; there can be little doubt that the Latin-American States consented to participate in the conferences because of the

hope that these conferences would evolve international guarantees of their political independence.

In the first four International American Conferences the United States was able without much opposition to confine the discussions to non-political matters. The principal subjects discussed were of a commercial nature, and as a result the conferences struck no responsive cord in Latin America; whatever enthusiasm there may have been existed principally in the United States. Dr. Naón, Argentine Ambassador to this country, said in 1913: "There is no Pan-Americanism in South America; it exists only in Washington."

On the agenda of the fifth conference, held in Santiago in 1923, there were several subjects relating to closer political cooperation—an indication that the Latin Americans were no longer willing to confine their discussions exclusively to innocuous non-political questions. "All during the Santiago meeting," says Samuel G. Inman, "two views of the purposes of the Pan-American movement seemed to be struggling against each other: one, aiming to maintain the status quo of the Pan American Union, regarded it primarily as an agency for the promotion of business relations; the other to enlarge the movement, to enable it to function in settling inter-American problems and to promote political, cultural, and social cooperation between all American countries." The conference adopted the usual "harmless" conventions and resolutions. But the proposals designed to promote closer political association were not adopted because of the resolute opposition of the United States.

It was generally recognized that the next conference would mark a crisis in Pan-Americanism. The United States Government sent to Havana the strongest delegation which had ever represented this country in a Pan-American conference, and President Coolidge himself delivered the opening address. Again good progress

was made on questions of a non-political and semi-political nature. But the Mexican proposal that the Pan American Union be reorganized to diminish the control of the United States was one of the most troublesome topics before the conference. Though minor concessions were made to Mexico's demands, the fundamental status of the union was not changed. "The Pan-American Building remains where it was, in Washington, near the White House and not far from the United States Department of State," said *La Nación* (Santiago de Chile). A further effort to "outlaw intervention" was also successfully defeated by the American delegation, and after debates which evidenced very clearly Latin America's condemnation of our intervention policy, the subject was deferred to the next conference.

In general the United States delegation at Havana again succeeded in preventing any serious deviation from the usual path of "safe discussions"; that school, which an American journal of liberal opinions pertinently describes as the "one headed by the United States which seeks to exclude major political issues, tries to keep the conference and its permanent agency in a rut of cumulative, bureaucratic progress: pamphlets * * * scholarships * * * lectures * * * infinitudes of supplemental Pan-American societies * * * emotion * * * soft soap," won a decided victory.

It is claimed by some that the co-operation of American republics is a natural consequence of the fact that they form a State system distinct from that of Europe, and that they possess common ideals, principles and interests. Although the elements of race, language and religion are absent, proponents of Pan-Americanism argue that there is a sufficient community of other factors to make for continental solidarity. Pan-Americanism "has been made possible," said Robert Lansing, "because of our geographic isolation, our similar politi-

cal institutions and our common conception of human rights."

By others the validity of these fundamentals of Pan-Americanism have been seriously questioned. The two most generally stressed as making for a community of interests are geographical proximity and a similarity of political background and institutions. Although the republics of Central America and the Caribbean have been drawn into the orbit of American influence because of their proximity to the United States, there is little difference between the distance from Brazil and Argentina to the United States and to Europe. Before the recent improvement of inter-American steamship communication it was easier to reach South America from Europe than directly from the United States. Admittedly, the Panama Canal has brought the nations of Western South America closer to this country, but even in these days of rapid communication the phrase "geographical propinquity" scarcely applies to nations from 5,000 to 7,000 miles apart.

The other argument that there exists in America a community of political development is likewise untenable. The Constitution of the United States has been a most popular model for Latin-American governments, but it was the form which was adopted, not the vital spirit of popular, representative, republican government. Superficial constitutional similarities exist in the two Americas, but the functioning political institutions are as far apart as the poles. The American States are republican in form only.

The acceptance by the American republics of the principle of equality has also been stressed as a solid rock upon which the structure of "continentalism" could be erected. Charles Evans Hughes spoke at Havana of "the cooperation of equals of common advantage." Throughout the history of the Pan-American movement the principle of equality has been pro-

fessed by the member States. There is, however, neither equality of nations within the movement nor a recognition of perfect sovereignty without, though theoretical equality before the law exists among the member nations of the International American Conferences. But the power and influence of nations tends to be proportionate to population and resources, political stability and financial strength. Inevitably some of the Pan-American members overshadow others, despite Mr. Coolidge's statement at Havana that "the smallest and the weakest speaks here with the same authority as the largest and most powerful." The great disparity in power among the American republics and the preponderance of the United States combine to make State equality within the Pan-American conferences a vain ideal.

Mutual recognition of sovereign rights by the American countries is given as another basic factor of Pan-Americanism. But this involves the definition of sovereignty. Calvo's contention that the independence of States with all corresponding rights must be absolute represents the general position of Latin America. The practical-minded United States, on the other hand, realizes that absolute sovereignty is impossible because the entry of States into the family of nations imposes duties and responsibilities which act as restrictions upon perfect freedom of action. Failure to agree on a definition of sovereignty has contributed inevitably to Pan-American disagreement over the right of intervention.

If, therefore, the claims to a vast community of ideals and interests between the United States and Latin America are rejected, it becomes apparent that the real motive for Pan-Americanism is the desire of the United States that there shall be such cooperation, and the forlorn hope of the Latin Americans that this cooperation be converted into some political service of value to them. The move-

ment is not spontaneous; its basis is artificial and forced. It is something "made in the U. S. A." Its value has been seriously diminished by resentment in Latin America. Faith in the organization as a serious effort to work out Pan-American problems has been lost.

Failure on the part of our sister republics to make any headway in influencing the direction of Pan-Americanism has convinced them that it is a superficial union, one-sided, top-heavy, and of use wholly for propaganda purposes by the richest nation in the world.

The very term "Pan-Americanism" has been discredited for its association with "Yankee imperialism." It is defined as "a hypocritical mask behind which is hidden the imperialistic creed of Monroe"; "not an expression of national fraternity but a dangerous camouflage of North American imperialism"; "a continuation of the doctrine of Monroe * * * something very much opposed to the epic dreams of a great American federation of Bolivar." The terms "Monroeism" and "Pan-Americanism" are closely related in American policy. The United States administers Pan-American good-will as an antidote for the Monroe Doctrine poison. It seeks to allay the ill-will arising from its intervention policy by ardently professing a counter-policy of "mutual respect, sympathy and understanding." The incompatibility of these two policies is striking. Is it surprising that we are accused of hypocrisy?

Disillusion over Pan-Americanism has encouraged counter-movements in Latin America. A plan for an American league of nations, originally proposed by President Brum of Uruguay, embodies the ideal of those who would continue to cooperate with the United States, but on terms more in keeping with the principle of equality of nations. The Brum plan has received no favor in the United States.

Another and more pronounced movement against Pan-Americanism

is called Latin-Americanism. It is boldly based on opposition to cooperation with the United States. Latin Americanists advocate abandonment of association with the United States, the formation of political alliances among themselves and the development of closer relations with Europe. Hostility toward the United States permeates the spirit of Latin Americanism. "As you [the United States] interpret it, Pan-Americanism means your exclusive right to exploit our oil, forests, mines and markets," says a leader of the movement. "Therefore Pan-Latinism is the new tool we are forging with which to fight you." Latin Americanists attempt to expose the antagonism of interests that exists between their countries and the United States, and they extol the bases of Latin Americanism—tradition, race, church, language, culture and sentiment.

Although Latin-Americanism may seriously weaken the influence and effectiveness of Pan-Americanism, it is questionable whether it will ever effect the creation of a Latin-American confederation. There must be a stronger force than suspicion of the United States to cement the union.

Pan-Americanism of the kind advocated by the United States will undoubtedly continue to exist; whether it will flourish is another matter. The influence of the United States in the Americas, particularly in economic matters, insures Latin America's nominal adherence to our conception of continental solidarity. It would be impractical for them to secede; and they have derived numerous benefits from the work of the International American Conferences and the Pan American Union. But so long as the United States and the Latin-American nations profess irreconcilable convictions regarding the international rights and responsibilities of sovereign States, the establishment of good-will and understanding can never be attained.

The Drama of Rubber

By GEORGE T. RENNER,

Professor of Geography, University of Washington.

THE entry of American rubber manufacturers into the rainy tropics for the purpose of growing their own rubber is a step to be watched with keen interest.

Rubber is a juice or latex which is made by certain trees and vines in the rainy tropics. No good rubber trees or vines will thrive even in the hottest and wettest parts of the United States. The best areas for producing rubber lie for the most part along the Equator in a broad strip from 500 to 1,000 miles wide. In addition, the windward, and hence rainy, sides of most tropical islands and coasts are similarly suited to rubber plants. In these hot and rainy lands, covered with deep forests and tangles of creepers and vines, are scattered rubber trees and occasional groups and clumps, usually difficult of access. From such sources small quantities of rubber are obtained with great labor and with considerable risk to health.

For a hundred years rubber was used only in small quantities, for such articles as erasers. In 1823 MacIntosh in Scotland employed it to make waterproof cloth, but not until 1842, when Goodyear discovered the process of vulcanization, was its use for this purpose entirely successful. The resulting growth of the rubber boot, shoe and clothing industries caused a gradual increase in the demand for rubber. During the last decade of the nineteenth century the development of the pneumatic tire and the increased use of rubber in surgery and the electrical industries added a further impetus to the demand.

This ever-increasing demand resulted in an insatiable quest for rubber. Every inducement was held out to the natives of the rainy tropics to find and tap rubber-bearing trees and to bring the raw rubber to the trading posts. The white man cannot carry on sustained labor in the rainy tropical climate and is forced to rely on the labor of the colored races, who work only when they must. With no season of cold or drought to interrupt the food supply, the periods when man must work are limited to occasional short spells of haphazard and only moderate exertion which are separated by long intervals of relative inactivity.

Many of the tropical forest peoples were at first induced to penetrate the trackless expanses in search of rubber by the fascinating articles offered them by white traders. But the capacity of the natives to absorb trade goods and trinkets finally approached its limit, and the Europeans encountered great difficulty in getting sufficient rubber to meet the steadily mounting demand. Trade gin as an inducement for rubber hunting brought somewhat better results. Head taxes and hut taxes were frequently levied, and were partially successful in providing an excuse to make the natives work. Parties of rubber hunters in boats ascended hundreds of tropical rivers. Landing in insect and reptile infested jungles, they explored the adjacent forests until several hundred rubber trees had been located. Paths were then hewn and hacked from the camp to the individual trees, the trees

tapped and the latex collected in buckets. The latex was coagulated by smoking and made into huge balls, which at intervals were taken to some town at the junction of several rivers.

Collecting camps or towns often grew temporarily to considerable size. Manaus, a town of this kind, lies 1,000 miles up the Amazon in Brazil, and Iquitos in Peru lies nearly 2,000 miles from the mouth of the great river. The Congo and other large rivers of the tropical forest lands each came to have their several rubber towns, behind which lay scores of isolated camps in the gloomy forest. From the mouths of these rivers shiploads of rubber were hurried to the entrepôt markets of the temperate zone. Men reduced to the point of moral disintegration by heat, humidity, dysentery and malaria, by drink and isolation and by continual contact with so-called inferior races of people and driven by the lust for more rubber which was opposed by native disinclination toward work, committed all sorts of atrocities in their efforts to increase the output. The story of the German traders in Kamerun, the Belgians in Congoland, the Portuguese in their African colonies, and the Americans and British in Amazonia, is an ugly chapter in the world's economic history.

In spite of every effort, the supply of rubber failed to keep pace with the demand. Many areas were entirely depleted of their rubber resources by the reckless destruction of trees. Prices rose steadily until, in 1909, fine Para rubber brought \$1.48 a pound in the United States, and ribbed, smoked sheet rubber \$2.06 a pound.

The advent of the automobile in the early part of the twentieth century made imperative an increase in rubber production. Brazil, whose Hevea rubber trees produced most of the rubber, forbade the export of either seeds or seedlings. An English scientist, however, in 1876 purloined a number of Hevea seeds and planted

them in the Kew Botanical Gardens, near London, where they grew and thrived. In 1881 some of these were carried to Ceylon and India, where climatic conditions resemble those of the Amazon basin. Several years later a few men, foreseeing the end of wild rubber as an adequate source of supply, undertook the deliberate planting of rubber trees. Hevea seeds from Ceylon were accordingly distributed through the Malay States and the Dutch East Indies, and the experiment was a success.

In 1900 four tons of rubber were produced from planted trees, and in 1905 about 174 tons. In 1910 more than 7,000 tons were contributed by the plantations of Ceylon, Malaya and the East Indies. In that year, however, 73,000 tons of rubber originated from the wild rubber industry, so that the 7,000 tons of plantation rubber represented but 9 per cent of the total. The price of rubber remained high and most people were not ready to believe that cultivated rubber could ever supply the world's growing industrial demands for that commodity. But the rubber planters steadily expanded their operations until in 1913 the output of cultivated rubber was practically equal to that of wild rubber. In 1914, when the total rubber production amounted to 122,000 tons, over 60 per cent was plantation rubber. From then on the percentage decline of wild rubber has been rapid. In the present year nearly 95 per cent of the total amount was produced on plantations.

The world is now supplied with more than 500,000 tons of rubber annually, whereas the wild forest industries in the best years supplied little more than 50,000 tons. As yet only a few hundred square miles have been planted to rubber, and there are several million square miles of the earth with the necessary natural conditions for rubber production. Vast areas in Mexico, South and Central America, Africa, Southern Asia and Australasia are included in nature's

potential rubber belt. In spite of this, rubber plantations show a curious concentration in the more thickly populated regions of the rainy tropics. Rubber growing demands much cheap land and much cheap labor, so that rubber plantations have been located in undeveloped forest lands as near as possible to the centres of dense population. The result has been their concentration in Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula and the western islands of the Dutch East Indies. A labor supply has been secured, in the main, by a system of labor contracting and indenturing, at wages which vary from 20 to 50 cents a day.

Not only do most of the rubber plantations lie in British and Dutch colonial territory, but they are largely operated by British and Dutch capital as well. In 1922 British capital controlled about 75 per cent of the acreage of rubber trees, Dutch capital about 15 per cent, French capital about 4 per cent, and American capital perhaps 3 per cent. On the other hand, the United States used approximately 70 per cent of the entire output of rubber. America was thus at the mercy of any possible British-Dutch combination that might be formed for the purpose of squeezing the consumer. But no such combination was formed, since prices were good and the market lively.

The planting of rubber trees went on rapidly in expectation of a permanently expanding market. But, although the earnings of rubber companies were very great, prices for rubber steadily fell. By 1920 and 1921 production had caught up with consumption and prices fell to 15 to 18 cents a pound, and at times even as low as 12 cents, although it cost perhaps 25 cents to produce a pound of rubber, and 36 cents was considered a desirable and fair price. The rubber planters were in a desperate plight, for this price slump occurred just at a time when general prices and living costs were at their peak.

The British Government finally

took notice of the precarious position in which nearly \$1,000,000,000 of British money had become involved; after a consultation between the British Colonial Office and the leading plantation officials the "Stevenson plan" was put into effect. This was, in short, an arrangement to restrict the output and export of rubber from British plantations by means of a graduated tax. The purpose of the whole scheme was to raise the price to about 36 cents a pound by creating an artificial rubber shortage. Provision was made for increased future demand, but the export quota was to be determined anew every quarter in order to prevent overproduction.

The Stevenson plan met with immediate success. The British reduced their exports considerably. Prices rose to 30 cents, then to 80 cents, and finally to over \$1 in 1925. But the Dutch planters, refusing to join the British in their restriction plans, planted rubber trees as fast as possible in order to share the high prices created by self-imposed British restriction. Since five or six years are required to bring a rubber tree to the bearing point, the British had several successful years. But while the British reduced their exports to about 60 per cent of the 1920 figure, the Dutch increased their exports more than 300 per cent. In 1928 the price of rubber fell rapidly until it reached about 17 cents per pound in April of that year. The Stevenson plan had collapsed, and with it all dreams of a rubber monopoly. Once more the world could buy cheap rubber after having rediscovered that monopoly prices cannot be maintained by artificial measures. The repeal of the Stevenson act made no difference in the price of rubber, which remained at 17 to 20 cents a pound.

The attempted restriction of rubber production had some lasting effects. Reclamation of used rubber was increased threefold; economies in rubber use were discovered and substitutes for many uses of rubber were

found. Prices for rubber are again low, but the United States, although without any immediate cause for worry, has learned a valuable lesson in the economics of raw material. In 1924, when Great Britain was successfully squeezing her war debts out of the United States by rubber extortion, Congress appropriated \$500,000 to investigate the possibilities of rubber production under American control. The great American rubber manufacturing companies also carried on their own private investigations and some interesting facts came to light.

India, Ceylon and Malaya as areas for American operations were discarded because politically under British control. Brazil offers environmental possibilities but lacks adequate labor in the areas most adapted to rubber growing. Mexico is too much unsettled politically to offer inducements to American capital. Panama is a possibility, but malaria (outside the Canal Zone) is a real menace. Labor is scarce locally and would have to be brought from Porto Rico or from the British island of Jamaica. The Philippine Islands contain more than 2,000,000 acres of land entirely suitable for rubber growing, but the entry of American capital into the Philippines is restricted by the law that forbids any corporation owning land in excess of 2,500 acres. The Dutch island of Sumatra offers a possible field for American enterprise, but the supply of Oriental labor there might easily be restricted or diverted.

In spite of these apparent drawbacks the American plans for rubber plantations have proceeded. By 1928 Goodyear possessed 50,000 acres of rubber trees in Sumatra, the United States Rubber Company controlled 87,000 acres in Malaya and the East Indies, Ford was laying plans for a 4,000,000-acre plantation in Brazil, and Firestone had secured a ninety-nine-year lease on an abandoned British plantation in Liberia and had also leased 1,000,000 acres of adjacent

lands. The ultimate contribution of these plans to American industry and finance cannot yet be conjectured.

For two decades the rubber plantation industry, localized in the Eastern tropics since nowhere else were potential rubber lands near large supplies of cheap labor, has been largely controlled by the British, while the Dutch, French and Belgians were important participants. Since the World War America at last has a surplus for foreign investments and loans, and American manufacturers, lacking rubber are determined to produce it, preferably in Africa and Latin America on lands relatively near the United States. It will probably cost Americans more to grow their own rubber than to buy from European producers, owing to the large outlay for regional development and labor, but it is apparently deemed advisable in spite of this. Enough land has already been leased by American companies to supply more than the world's total demand for rubber at the present time. Since America consumes 70 per cent of the present world production of rubber it would appear that American rubber growing will mean war to the bitter end with the British and Dutch planters—either that or failure on the part of the Americans.

Firestone's entry into Liberia is perhaps the most interesting of all the American projects for rubber growing. Liberia offers American enterprise a better combination of climate, land, labor supply and favorable political conditions than does any other part of the world's rubber zone.

Liberia is a little Negro republic about the size of the State of Pennsylvania, squeezed in between British and French territory on the Guinea coast of West Africa. The American Colonization Society, seeking to provide an African home for Negro ex-slaves, purchased in 1821 a small tract of land from native rulers on the coast of what is now Liberia, and planted a colony of eighty freedmen. In spite of hunger, disease and hostile

ity from the natives the little colony grew rapidly. In 1847 it cast off the tutelage of the society and declared itself a republic. Its laws, Constitution, governmental machinery and national flag were modeled after those of the United States, and its capital, Monrovia, was named in honor of an American President. Today Liberia contains about 40,000 square miles, most of which is covered with virgin tropical forest, rich in oil palms, wild rubber trees and vines and cabinet woods. The annual rainfall is from 150 to 200 inches and the temperature rarely falls below 60 degrees Fahrenheit. A more nearly ideal place for rubber production could scarcely be found. The descendants of American Negroes number not more than 50,000, but the country is estimated to contain between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 inhabitants—certainly enough to supply adequate labor if they can be induced to work.

This valuable piece of land has by no means been overlooked by those interested in rubber. The Liberian Rubber Corporation, Ltd., a British company organized in 1904 for the purpose of collecting and exporting wild rubber, had by 1910 built a road and planted 1,500 acres of rubber trees, the money for which had been borrowed in England on Liberia's credit. The company failed, leaving Liberia financially ruined. The British then planned to foreclose, and their ultimate plans undoubtedly included annexation of the republic to the adjacent British colony, with a great extension of rubber planting in Liberia. The intervention of the United States, which undertook the rehabilitation of Liberian finances and the reorganization of the military forces, prevented this and the rubber plantation was eventually abandoned.

During and immediately after the war Liberia as a potential rubber producer was almost forgotten, until in 1925 the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company began its search for land on

which to grow rubber under American control. A \$100,000,000 corporation, the Firestone Plantations Company, was organized at Akron, Ohio. The abandoned British rubber plantation was leased from the Liberian Government and reconditioned. These 1,500 acres have lately been yielding 500 pounds of rubber an acre monthly, an amount which exceeds by 40 per cent the average production in the East. In addition, 1,000,000 acres of rubber land have been obtained on a ninety-nine-year lease from the Liberian Government. Ten thousand grafted rubber trees of the finest quality have been brought to Liberia from the East Indies, and nurseries for domestic seedlings have been laid out. By 1928 30,000 acres of land had been planted to rubber trees and additional planting has been pushed vigorously.

Liberia received a \$5,000,000 loan from American bankers in 1927, and internal improvement is proceeding. Harbors, motor roads and other improvements are being built. More than 12,000 natives are already employed and the annual payroll of the company exceeds \$1,000,000. Firestone's plans call for an ultimate production of 250,000 tons of rubber annually, a scale of operations which will eventually employ over 300,000 Liberian laborers.

In many other ways the Firestone Plantations Company is contributing to Liberian development. Exploration and mapping, installation of hydroelectric plants, drilling of wells, building of roads, hospitals and homes for workers are some of its activities. The company is even cooperating with the Liberian Government in planning a new school system for the country. Rubber, which once brought misery to Liberia, may eventually make that country one of the most advanced in Africa and one of the most stable and progressive in the entire tropical zone. In return, Liberia will attempt to produce half America's rubber supply.

The New Spirit of Japan

By BURTON CRANE

American Newspaper Correspondent at Tokyo

JAPAN'S progress since 1851 has been proverbial. No visiting public man dares face a Japanese audience without at least one reference to the giant strides which have carried the island empire from feudalism to post-war industrialism. But the average man fails to realize that practically the whole of Western civilization has during a like period made the same strides. Perry, knocking at the doors of Japan at the dawn of the present industrial era, found a nation of artisans. Europe, in the more advanced countries, was near the end of its industrial revolution, while the United States was just beginning its transition from a system of economy based on agriculture to one based on manufacturing. Japan, with no need to go through an industrial reshuffling, entered the modern civilized world at the most advantageous moment.

Lessons which the Western World had to teach Japan were few and easily learned, and after learning them she had merely to keep pace. Favoring an easy transition were a people with a strong sense of government, at peace for hundreds of years; a strong character in the first Emperor of the Restoration, Meiji, and a capitalistic system which had grown side by side with feudalism and could be converted readily to the Western pattern. Working against this transition were a superstitious ignorance of the outside world, an incipient civil war and, after the war had been won by the party of progress, the private armies of the feudal lords.

For fifteen years the Tokugawa Shogunate and its allies fought the clans which wished to restore the Emperor to temporal power. The winners, when they came to take office, realized that they would have to deal with the outside world. They saw that much had happened, that countries of which Japan knew practically nothing had become a potential menace. They resolved that, first of all, the nation must be placed in a position to defend itself. This was the genesis of the plan which has guided Japan into modern industrialism. That plan may be said to be the reason for the success of a poor nation, boasting almost no raw materials, in taking its present place in the commercial and political councils of the world.

Young men went abroad to study, some at government expense and others at the expense of wealthy family companies. In a very few years the plan envisaged a textile industry as the staple line. Subsidies were granted and private companies encouraged to undertake cotton spinning and weaving. Ships were purchased and placed in operation. Railroads were built to link the chief cities. The national bank act of the United States was adopted, almost in its entirety, and fitted to the financial system which had grown up about some of the larger retail stores. This was, after a few years, abandoned for the present central bank system, modeled after the Bank of England.

Politically, Japan had modeled herself on Prussia and Bismarckian

diplomacy was in vogue. The first test of the nation's new strength came in the war with China in 1894 and 1895. Japan won and trade rose tremendously. War profiteers had made immense profits and formed new companies along new lines.

Almost the same thing happened after the second test of strength, which came ten years later, in the Russo-Japanese War. Private enterprise and the government still worked hand in hand. The large companies went into the fields which the government felt were essential to military and industrial growth and the government, in its turn, granted subsidies and raised protective tariff walls. The helping hand of the government was exceedingly important throughout the period from 1890 to the World War, for industry proved almost incapable of proceeding under its own power. Booms during and immediately after the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars were followed by slumps which stubbornly refused to end. In fact, there is ample material for making the generalization that Japan so far (in modern times) has had no good business without a war.

The World War, however, marked the end of this first phase of Japan's industrial growth. The government was no longer an indispensable crutch. The plan was abandoned and new industries appeared overnight. Europe and the United States were busy elsewhere and their Asiatic markets (including those in Japan itself) were open to the Japanese, who set out to capture them. Profits were easy, and necessities were often scarce. This was particularly true of iron and steel. Every clerk could make money in the stock market and every *narikin*, as the new rich were called, wished to become an industrialist on his own account. By 1917 there were 209 steel companies in the country, more than 200 of which were less than three years old. The same thing happened in other industries and in commercial

lines. The *narikin* formed trading companies, dealt in raw cotton, pig iron and other bulk commodities.

The end of the war found business proceeding at a tremendous pace, almost entirely without governmental guidance and interference. A scheme for rationalization and unification which had been on foot at the outbreak of hostilities was forgotten. There was current a belief that the industrialization policy had borne its fruit. Japan had come into its manufacturing own. Post-war prosperity was even greater than war prosperity—until 1920. The Spring of that year brought Japan the world-wide commodity panic. Company after company went down; looted for dividends during the boom they could not weather the storm. Banks found themselves hopelessly involved. Many of the mushroom concerns passed into the control of the big family groups; the Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Yasuda, Sumitomo and Suzuki companies bought in for a song.

Somehow or other the country came through the crisis. Hundreds of banks were in difficulties, and the governmental inspectors knew it; but they dared do nothing. To whisper the true state of affairs would have precipitated a panic which might have brought down the entire national economic structure. There was but little progress toward bank readjustment by 1923, when the earthquake wiped out property worth 5,000,000,000 yen in and around Tokyo and Yokohama. A moratorium was declared and the banks were propped up by special loans. Again little was said about their condition.

When the world discovered the extent of the damage which had been wrought the yen it fell to 38 cents from its par of nearly 50 cents. Depreciation of the yen had the same effect as a 25 per cent subsidy for companies competing with international prices. The stronger of these found themselves able to operate at a profit. Business improved.

Had this state of affairs been allowed to continue all might have been well. It is conceivable that sufficient profits might have been made to rescue many of the weaker companies, that the banks might have been able to recoup their heavy losses. But Japan's credit was too good. Seven bond issues were floated by electric light and power companies with the yen in the neighborhood of 40 cents. Prospectuses told of Japan's industrial growth, pointed to the tremendous gains of the war years. "Surely," thought investors in New York, London and Amsterdam, "a country such as that will not allow its currency to remain below par for long. It will remove its gold embargo at the first opportunity." On this assumption they bought yen, which at that time was an exceedingly good gamble. They could get money at 4 or 4½ per cent in any of the big financial capitals, convert it into yen and place it with Japanese trust companies at guaranteed yields which often exceeded 7 per cent. Beginning in the Summer of 1925, the yen rose in sixteen months from 38½ to 49 cents.

Results were not far to seek. Companies which had just been able to survive with a depreciated yen lost money steadily. The pressure on the weakened banks grew too great to bear. In March and April, 1927, there came a banking panic, the end of what may be called the second period of Japan's industrial growth, that in which the government was too much divorced from business for the good of either. It also marked the beginning of a vigorous reorganization of business structure. A new bank act was passed which decreed minimum capitalization figures. Banks were closed and merged. Doubtful assets were stricken from the books.

In industry a new spirit became apparent. Manufacturers saw that they could not hope for the profits of inflation for any great length of time. If they wished to survive, they had to deflate and cut their costs. Moreover,

many industries had expanded beyond the domestic market. They saw that they could not hope to compete abroad if they stood in need of tariff protection and subsidies at home. Gradually pleas in the press for more protection began to die away. Efforts to improve manufacturing efficiency began to increase.

No attempt to remove the embargo on exports of gold was made between the 1927 panic and July, 1929. In that month Premier Yuko Hamaguchi assumed office and invited M. Inouye to be his Finance Minister. These men set about the task of removing the embargo, reducing governmental expenditures and urging nation-wide economy as preliminary steps. The lifting of the ban on gold exports became effective on Jan. 11, 1930.

Leaders in Japan realize that the failure of the country to deflate after the war boom has cost a great deal. Rationalization has hardly commenced and will be more difficult now that the empire's leading European competitors have all but completed the process. However, there are signs and portents that the plan which was Japan's salvation in the past will undergo a rebirth and emerge in the guise of rationalization.

In spite of the post-war panics, the booms during the World War were an advantage to Japan. The nation was enabled to experiment with many industries which only costly subsidies would have given a trial in times of peace. Many of these failed but many succeeded. The result is that Japan's industrial power today is easily three times that of 1913. Naturally, it does not compare with the United States in point of industrial output, but in many of the items listed below it stands well with the four leading European nations. Items which are almost entirely reflections of natural resources, such as coal, oil, iron ore and non-ferrous ore outputs, have not been mentioned. The figures on hydroelectric power, however, were

thought worthy of mention, as they show what use has been made of such resources as exist. Percentages below are based on actual figures for 1927, since world figures for later dates have not yet been compiled:

	Great Ger- Britain, many. France, Italy, Japan. (In percentages of world totals.)				
Existing hydro-electric power resources	0.2	0.4	1.6	0.8	2.8
Utilized hydro-electric power resources	0.8	3.6	6.9	6.0	10.0
Steel output....	3.8	13.5	9.2	..	1.5
Chemical exports (value)....	13.6	22.9	13.3	4.2	2.2
Nitrate output....	7.3	37.5	2.8	1.4	2.7
Superphosphate output	4.0	5.2	18.7	11.5	5.2
Dyestuff output	9.8	46.6	9.8	3.8	4.0
Rayon output....	10.9	11.5	7.6	15.6	4.2
Cotton consumption	12.5	5.0	5.9	4.5	11.7
Cotton cloth exports	49.1	2.6	5.6	2.0	13.4
Wool consumption	15.3	12.2	19.2	4.9	2.4
Raw silk output ..	..	..	0.5	7.7	64.1
Electro-technical output (value)	11.5	23.3	4.9	1.9	2.9
Machinery output (value)....	13.6	13.1	2.4	1.2	1.0
World exports (value)	19.0	7.8	6.5	3.3	3.6
Merchant vessels (tons)....	29.6	5.2	5.3	5.3	6.2

Because of the original inexperience of their founders there are still a good many business concerns in Japan which are having a difficult struggle. There has, however, been a marked improvement in the general condition of business since the months immediately after the 1927 panic. Many manufacturers saw the period of low exchange as an opportunity to experiment in more efficient production methods. Tentative steps were taken toward rationalization, in some cases successfully. As a result recent reports show that every major branch of commerce and industry is operating at some profit. The Mitsui Holding Company has just completed a survey of the reports of the 1,500 largest Japanese companies for the last term. This list follows, including, wherever possible, comparative figures for 1919 and for 1928. The former year marked the greatest pros-

perity in Japan's history. It is the steady but apparently profitless progress since then, rather than the particularly marked advance since the subsidy-ridden pre-war days, with which Western business should be most concerned:

	1919.	1928. (P.C.)	Most Recent Net Profit.
Department stores .....	....	....	20.9
Brewing .....	....	....	20.2
Copper mining....	....	....	18.8
Spinning and weaving (bales of yarn).....	1,920,782	2,451,862	18.7
Paper (million lbs.)	280	1,306	14.5
Flour (1,000 bags)	15,908	42,846	13.4
Cement (1,000 bbls.)	8,013	24,475	13.3
Sugar (1,000 piculs) .....	....	....	12.6
Banking (deposits in millions of yen)	9,694	11,757	12.2
Rapid transit....	....	....	12.1
Export and import (trade volume in millions of yen)	4,272	4,168	11.8
Hides and leather .....	....	....	11.5
Hemp .....	....	....	11.4
Ship building and car making....	....	....	11.1
Electric light and power (generating capacity in 1,000 kilowatts).	1,133	3,800	10.1
Chemical industries (electrochemical output in millions of yen)	94	131	9.9
Woolen textiles (raw wool consumption in 1,000 lbs.)	51,376	99,239	9.6
Railways (freight loadings in 1,000 tons)	53,314	69,080	9.2
Rayon (1,000 lbs.)	100	16,652	8.9
Mining (coal production in 1,000 tons)	31,271	31,615	8.5
Exchanges .....	....	....	8.0
*Trust companies (accounts in millions of yen)....	....	1,269	7.7
Real estate.....	....	....	5.6
Marine transport. ....	....	....	5.4
Iron and steel (steel ingot output in 1,000 tons)	830	1,968	4.8
Miscellaneous ....	....	....	10.2

*Trust companies now existing were established under a law promulgated in 1924.

Rationalization, however, is bound to be hard, for Japan has two real problems to solve before it can become really effective. The first of these is

the attitude of mind of the Japanese worker. He is an artisan who likes to work well and in his own time, and he would rather work ten or eleven hours at a leisurely and careful pace than for eight hours at high pressure. A variant of this problem is found in the nation's most important machine industry, cotton spinning and weaving. The labor in the past has been almost entirely of the dormitory type. The girls go to the mills on two and three year contracts, leaving for their homes and marriage just as they begin to be efficient. Figures have been compiled to show that in 1927 Japan had a 76 per cent advantage over Lancashire in point of wages and other expenses per hour per worker, but that when the relative efficiency of the workers is considered Lancashire has a 47 per cent advantage over Japan in labor cost per 1,000 spindles. That Japan is able to compete at all is due to the fact that Japan's mechanical equipment is infinitely superior to that of Lancashire, and that Japan's mills enjoy credit of the highest order and are able to load up with raw cotton when it is cheap. In the last analysis this is a question of finance.

Japanese labor is not so efficient as it might be for industrial uses. Foremanship is a problem because of a tendency on the part of supposedly responsible subordinates to submit the most trifling matters to their superiors for decision. The chief trouble, however, finds its roots in the idea of caste. A man made a supervisor immediately assumes a white collar and refuses to be profaned by the touch of tools. The idea of showing a workman just how to perform a certain process in the most efficient manner is unthinkable. The process must be explained lengthily by word of mouth.

There are, however, noteworthy ex-

ceptions. In the Government Steel Works at Yawata efficiency in hours of labor and tons of coal per ton of steel produced has been gaining every year. A recent statement by the governor declared that these figures are now almost as low as those ruling in Germany. The Imperial Government Railways, in their locomotive and car repair shops, have established standards of dispatch which other countries may well envy.

The second great difficulty in the way of rationalization is the employment problem. Japan, as hundreds of speakers and writers have made clear, has a large and growing population. Business, while expanding at a far greater rate of speed than population, is still too small to take up this slack. Since the World War there have been mutterings about the unemployment problem. Rationalization, unless accompanied by measures designed to relieve the shock of transition, may make it worse.

Japan is fortunate in having an industrial class but little removed from the farms. Hardly an industrial worker but can go back to his home prefecture and live off the land when he loses his city job. This provides a buffer, but in the past several years the buffer has been worn thin and has lost much of its resiliency. Subsidies for industry have cost money, and that money has been raised by taxes on the farmer, already burdened in many cases by working but nevertheless unnecessary relatives.

Whatever the problems she faces, Japan's future is not dark. The nation, above all else, has shown an immense capacity for cooperation. That capacity, centred on the plan, again in operation, and aided by the stability and confidence engendered by removal of the gold embargo, lends a tinge of promise to the years to come.

Is Lenin Among the Prophets?

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor Emeritus, Harvard University

A PARLIAMENTARY bomb was recently exploded by the president of one of our patriotic societies who insisted that the United States ought forthwith to recognize the Soviet Government. Such a proposal seems to show a portentous lack of understanding of the political complex which we spell R-u-s-s-i-a, and which the Russians appear to spell L-e-n-i-n. Why has the United States Government till now refused to recognize the present government of Russia, and what changes in conditions suggest a reversal of a policy steadily followed by the United States for more than a decade?

To answer these questions requires consideration of several others. Why should Russia's situation upon the globe interest a nation as far removed as ours from geographical contact? What has been the foreign policy of Russia and how does it affect present international relations? What is the relation of Russia to American finance and foreign trade? What is the government of Russia, and how far can it be relied upon to assume the responsibilities of international intercourse?

Geographically, Russia is the country which most resembles the United States. Its vast area, extending through the North Temperate Zone from European to Asiatic seas, is much like the American stretch from the Pacific to the Atlantic. The two countries are similar in the extent and variety of their natural resources—enormous rivers, immense grain lands, vast forests, mines of precious and

base metals and minerals. The United States and Russia are the two most populous countries of the world living under European culture. Both countries include many race elements, chiefly people of a higher culture than the original children of the soil. Upon the face of it, should not Americans and Russians, the American Government and the Russian Government, realize this kinship of resources and opportunity?

Nothing is more flippant than the familiar "scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar." For ages Russia has been, not the most Western of Eastern nations, but the most Eastern of Western nations. Six hundred years ago European Russia was studded with commercial city states, such as Kiev. They were rooted out by the frightful calamity of Mongolian invasion, which might have destroyed European civilization but for long Russian resistance. The only way for the Russians to throw off that tyranny was to submit to one sovereign, and thus arose, about three centuries ago, the Romanov Dynasty, which lasted until 1919. It was a cruel, merciless despotism of czars and boyars; but it built up a nation which threw off the Tartar yoke, acquired Poland and the Eastern Baltic regions, and slowly pushed its way across Northern Asia to the Pacific. The Asiatic conquest of Russia has very much resembled the concurrent migration to the American West by the people of the United States. So far as accession of territory by peaceful infiltration and conquest goes, Russia and the United

States resemble each other; and the process has brought about similar problems for the two countries.

With respect to the past and present foreign policy of Russia, the United States has few complaints to make. The first international contacts began during the American Revolution. During the Civil War the Russian Government sent a small fleet to New York, apparently as a hint to the British to be cautious about taking the side of the Confederacy. The only important joint territorial transaction has been the voluntary Russian cession of Alaska in 1867. Few Russians have emigrated to the United States except from their former Polish Province. The United States entered the World War in 1917 as an ally of Russia, and later sent supplies and troops to the North. The ambitions and the machinations of the Russians in China, India and Mesopotamia, while intensely significant for European countries, do not conflict with present interests or policies of the United States.

The participation of Russia in the World War came about from causes with which the United States had no direct concern, and which to this day are misunderstood by many writers. Russia did not go into the war to smash Germany, but to open the water road from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The first Russian attack was made on Constantinople in the year 1000. The Crimean War of 1853, the Balkan War of 1878, were simply renewals of a policy which no Russian Government ever can or will give up, and that is the policy of securing access to the warm seas over a water route entirely controlled by Russia. That policy has much the same justification as the Isthmus Canal policy of the United States, and is as enduring. There will be no permanent peace in Europe till that Russian ambition is satisfied. It was not love for republican France but love for a free Bosphorus which caused the Russians to enter the World War.

The United States entered the World War in 1917 indirectly as an ally of Russia, aided in provisioning the Russian armies and landed troops and munitions of war at a new port opened on the Arctic Ocean. For a time we assisted the then existing Russian Government against an unexpected uprising in the rear of its armies, which developed into a successful Red insurrection. That movement quickly developed into a communist organization, based upon the doctrines of Marx as applied by Lenin, which came to be the Political Bible of Soviet Russia. It followed out what were asserted to be the completely democratic principles of communism as laid down by the Communistic apostle, Lenin.

For the first time in history a great nation not in the throes of war has come under the autocracy of a nominal government by everybody. The immense dominions of Russia have been in theory subdivided into a group of communities, bearing the collective official title of "Union of Soviet Republics," with a national capital established at Moscow. The present map of Russia, therefore, much resembles the United States in being composed of a number of constituent States. The so-called Soviet Republics are each subdivided into administrative areas. There is a governing body in each republic, outwardly resembling our State Legislatures, and also local Soviets.

Here the resemblance to American government stops, inasmuch as the millions of nominal voters have practically no voting power. They choose officers under conditions of nomination which make impossible the election of any person believed to be out of sympathy with communism or the Moscow régime. American observers have seen ballots cast, but not one has ever seen a candidate elected who would confess doubts about the doctrines of Lenin or opposition to the powers that be. The actual motivating government is the chief of a kind of

central committee which remains solidly communistic by a process (not unknown in American politics) of throwing doubters and dissentients to the wolves. In the centre of the inner circle there is a chieftain, once Lenin, now Stalin, whose power is practically absolute so long as the other members of the small governing group stand by him.

This is the government which the United States of America is invited to recognize as the actual political authority of Russia, as head of a civilized country, the citizens of which would then have a presumptive right to visit the United States and there to agitate in behalf of their type of government, at least until they conflict with some positive law, State or national.

The United States has never been very scrupulous as to recognizing *de facto* governments, all the way from Liberia to China; nor has it refrained from diplomatic relations with countries, especially Latin-American, even if the head was a conscienceless despot or group of despots. The official basis for refusing to exchange Ministers and facilitate intercourse is that the property of American life insurance companies and other American financial organizations was seized by the Russian Government ten years ago. The Russians now cite as more than offsetting this claim, money advanced by the United States for the support of the tottering Imperial Government; and the use of American troops to fight the Soviets. Powerful groups of American capitalists demand recognition so that they may find an unrestricted market for their wares.

Some real friends of humanity are deeply pained by the disposition to treat the Soviets as a danger to mankind. There seems to be somewhere a powerful publicity system which favorably sets forth the immense progress in modernizing Russian Government, education and business. Visitors come home with accounts of So-

viet farms and factories and schools which are remolding the peasantry. Somehow these visitors overlook the fact that the vast improvements are made by a political machine closely approaching slavery. A central object of oburgation is the kulak, the "rich peasant," who wants to make his own decisions and profit by his own endeavors. The "rich peasant" might, if let alone, have an annual cash income of as much as \$300. The kulaks are almost exactly like the American pioneers, who went out and took up land, worked and saved and struggled, and eventually came out owners of good farms and in a position to educate their children. In Russia it appears to be considered a crime to save money and increase stock and tools, for that means that the man who works hard will be better off than the man who takes things easy, which is a flat contradiction of the fundamental principles of communism.

What Americans, apart from contractors for machinery and bosses of large factories, have actually seen the concrete results of Russian agriculture, manufactures and education? Who has seen peasants of their own will flocking to the collective farms and asking to be admitted to their privileges? Who has seen anywhere in Russia, outside a few large cities, schoolhouses, libraries, trained teachers for all the children of school age? Who has seen an actual election in the country districts free from control of the authorities? The actual working principle of communism in Russia is practically based upon the belief that the average Russia is not competent to take part in his own destinies, but must accept the decisions of a self-designated group.

The United States has never undertaken the task of implanting its political principles in the minds of foreign nations by army corps. However tyrannical the Soviet system, it does not bear upon Americans outside the Russian boundaries. But all the world

knows that the principles of Lenin, which are the holy bible of sovietism, include an active and, if possible, a forceful instillment of those principles in other countries. Almost every European State has experienced active attempts of the Soviets to overthrow their existing governments. The same thing would happen in the United States if the Soviets had their way. It is a part of their political religion.

Resistance to bolshevism has its ludicrous features, as when no objection is made to the investment of immense American capital in Russia; but when the Russians attempt to sell their products in the United States in order to pay for those automobiles and tractors and machinery of various kinds, there is a great outcry on this side of the water. Likewise there is a possibility that the United States Government may be called upon by Americans who have made heavy investments in Russia to protect those investments from confiscation or ruinous taxation. Certainly if the Soviet Government should be recognized, one of the first duties of our diplomatic representatives over there will be to insist that American capital must have a fair deal.

The real reason for the aloofness of the United States is not financial—it is an instinct of self-preservation. The Russian Soviet has asked for recognition and has received it from several nations—even Great Britain, a country which, however, once saw reason to withdraw its recognition. The basis of the policy of the United States is simply that there is no evidence that the people of Russia have established, or intend at all hazards to maintain, their present form of government. Visitors to Russia, of whom the writer has been one, find nothing which resembles "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Under the old Russian Empire, great numbers of villages had a local government called the Mir, resembling the New England town meeting. No such bodies, chosen by the occupants of the

land, are now permitted to function.

The government is a self-designated group of men, including some very strong intellects, who take such action as seems good to them, with or without consultation with local authorities or representatives. The visitor to Russia sees very few troops, but everybody is convinced that in the neighborhood of Leningrad and Moscow there are several hundred thousand who may be relied upon in case of a rising in either of those two great centres of population. With all their defects, the former systems did do the business of the country.

The peasants were in a deplorable state under the empire, but millions of them had a vested right to remain on their lands, subject to the general control of the noble owner. Other millions of peasants owned their own small farms. The policy of the present government is to break them up and to replace them with enormous State farms, carried on with modern machinery. If methods of living forced upon a population by the threat of military coercion are the best, why not transfer them to the United States? Because any attempt to set up cooperative farms and factories on the Soviet model within this country would bring about insurrection and, if persisted in, civil war.

The heaviest charge of the Soviets against the United States is our participation with the Allies in their attempt to uphold a government of Russia which had been in existence for about three hundred years. Yet the Soviets publicly declare that it is their expectation and desire and purpose that all nations of the world shall adopt the same system of arbitrary and unskilled and personal government which has been fixed upon Russia; and which a decade hence is likely to be swept into the discard even there. The best aid that we can render to the Russian people, with their many good and strong qualities, is to keep away from the human waste and despair of sovietism.

Current History in Cartoons



The opening
of the
political
influenza
season
—Glasgow
Evening
Times

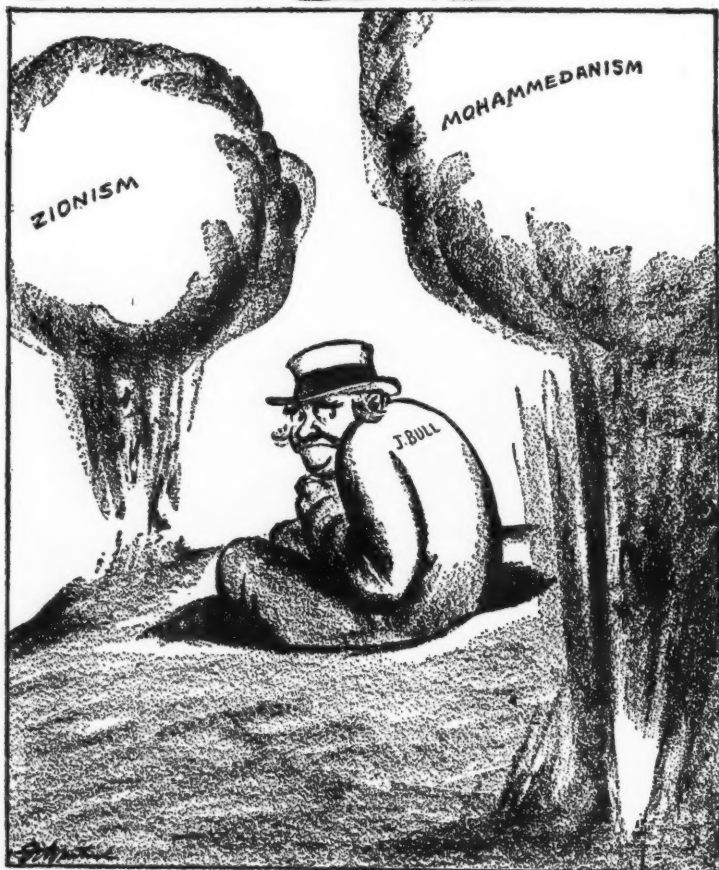


Kefen
193

EUROPE IN 1930

"Doctor, I haven't felt so ill since 1914"

—Nebelspalter, Zurich



**ENGLAND
FACES THE
WINTER**

The Lady:

"Come on,
Philip, put on
your Winter
woollies"

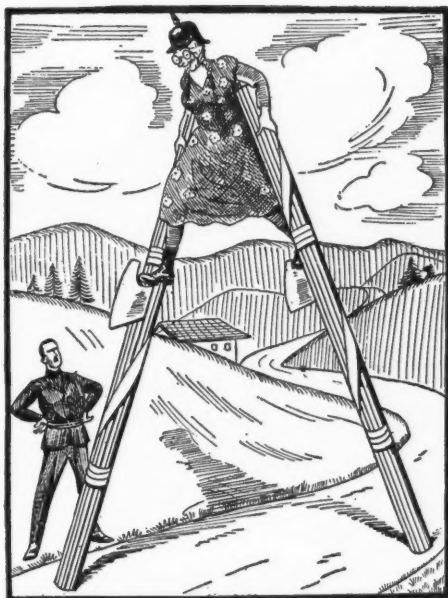
Philip: "Take it
away! That
would suffocate
me!"

—Glasgow Evening Times

**JOHN BULL IN
PALESTINE**

"If you know a
worse 'ole go to
it"

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch



ITALY VIEWS GERMAN FASCISM
 Bertha: "How well I can walk! Are these stilts from Krupp or Stinnes?"
 Hitler: "No, this time the label is 'Made in Italy.'" —*Il '420*, Florence



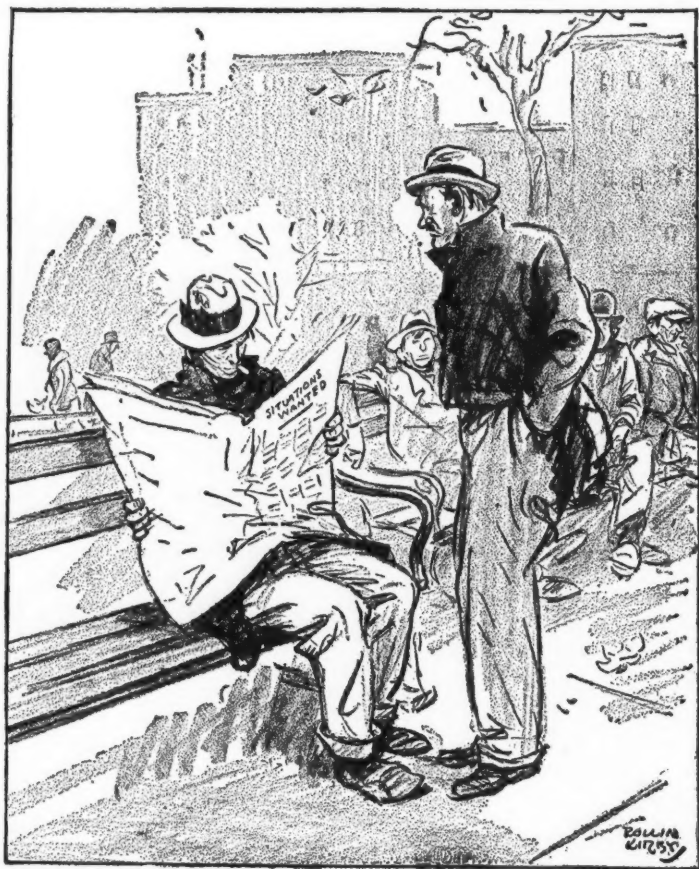
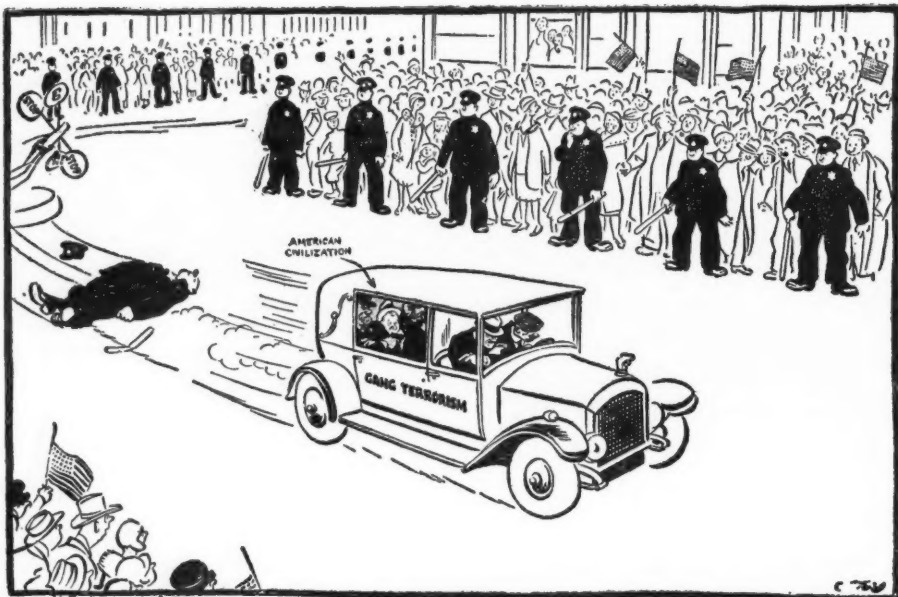
CAN HE STEER IT THROUGH?
 —*The Charlotte Observer*

GER- MANY'S RECOV- ERY

Dr. Brue-
ning: "Yes,
my dear, I
once put
you on your
feet, but
unfortu-
nately I
can't cure
that club
foot"

—*Kladder-
adatsch*,
Berlin



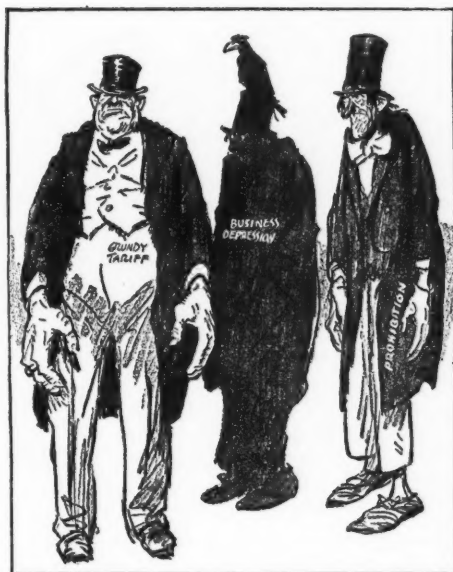


**TAKING HIM
FOR A RIDE**
As a famous
British cartoonist
sees the American
crime situa-
tion

—*Evening Stand-
ard, London*

"I see where Vice
President Curtis
endorses the 'Buy
Now' movement"

—*New York
World*



**AFTER
THE
ELEC-
TION**
The boys
who did it
—*New York
World*



A nice job
for the new
house-
keeper
—*New York
Herald
Tribune*



THE RETREAT FROM RIO
—*The Sun, Baltimore*

Recent Scientific Progress

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service, Washington, D. C.

DISCOVERY that human blood is of four different types and that blood of one does not always mix with blood of another type was one of the achievements that won the 1930 Nobel prize in medicine for Dr. Karl Landsteiner of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research. The enormous importance of Dr. Landsteiner's discovery has been evident to patients who have undergone the life-saving operation of blood transfusion. For this operation the blood of the donor and that of the patient must mix well or serious and even fatal results may occur. Consequently before each transfusion samples of the two bloods are tested or "matched" to see if they are compatible and belong in compatible blood groups.

When the blood liquid of one normal, healthy person and the red blood cells of another are put in the same test tube, instead of mixing freely the red cells often clump together as if they were glued. Dr. Landsteiner observed this in 1900 during the course of some investigations made in Vienna. Scientists call this glueing together, or clumping, agglutination. When it happens in a man's vein, following a blood transfusion, death may result. Agglutination did not take place at random, Dr. Landsteiner found, but depended on certain definite properties of the blood; on the basis of these properties blood was divided into different groups or types. Three of the types were discovered by Dr. Landsteiner and the fourth by two of his students.

Every human being belongs to one or the other of the blood groups. To a certain extent blood groups are inherited and this fact is often used to determine paternity. If the blood groups of each parent are known, one can state to which group their child might belong.

How fast yeast or flies grow may seem to have little relation to the 1930 population figures, but Professor Raymond Pearl and Professor Lowell J. Reed of the School of Hygiene and Public Health of the Johns Hopkins University, with a background of extensive and thorough studies of yeast and fly as well as human populations, predicted with great accuracy just how many people the census enumerators would find in the United States this year. Ten years ago, using only population data of 1910 and earlier, they drew a "logistic curve" of population growth of the United States which predicted that the population in 1930 would be 122,400,000. The official census figures were 122,700,000 and the prediction was thus correct to within only 2.5 parts per thousand. This is probably the most accurate forecast of a population of a large country ever made on the basis solely of data twenty years in advance of the event.

Professors Pearl and Reed have shown that human and other populations have a tendency to grow slowly at first, then rapidly, then slowly again until they become stationary. The curve of growth under given conditions can be expressed as an equation. Their studies suggest that the

populations of the United States will become stationary at about the year 2100 with a census figure of approximately 197,000,000. This assumes, of course, that the earlier growth of the country will be continued according to their law and that there are no serious or cataclysmic alterations of climatic, geological, biological, economic or social conditions.

The John Fitz Medal for 1931, one of the greatest honors of the engineering profession of America, has been awarded to Admiral Watson Taylor, U. S. N., retired. The medal in the past has gone, among others, to Herbert Hoover, engineer President; Ralph Modjeski, bridge builder, and Elmer A. Sperry, inventor. Admiral Taylor's achievement in marine architecture, revolutionary results of persistent research in hull design, improvements in many types of war ships and distinguished service as chief constructor of the United States Navy during the World War, are acknowledged in the award, which is the combined choice of the four American societies of civil, mining and metallurgical, mechanical and electrical engineers.

The halving of the coal bill of the United States Navy by the utilization of the bow wave for ship propulsion is said to be among Admiral Taylor's most notable achievements. This practice has been adopted by every navy in the world and more recently has been extended to the merchant marine. As chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair of the Navy during the World War Admiral Taylor initiated aeronautical development which resulted in the first flight across the Atlantic, that of the NC-4 in 1919, and in the building of the airship Shenandoah. Both as a midshipman at the United States Naval Academy and as a post-graduate at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, England, he made the highest marks ever attained by any student up to that time.

The first dinosaur eggs to be dis-

covered on this continent were discovered this past Summer near Red Ledge, Mont., by a Princeton University expedition directed by Dr. Glen L. Jepsen. The fragments of eggs resemble in several particulars those found recently in Mongolia. The Old and New World eggs occurred in closely similar geologic formation; the American eggs were found in the Upper Lance formation, which was deposited in Upper Cretaceous time, while the Mongolian ones came from the Djadochta formation, which is also cretaceous. Since the Mongolian formations are known to be older than the American ones, it is logical to believe that the eggs found this Summer are younger than those found in Mongolia.

The broken remains found by the Scott Fund Expedition, like those in Mongolia, are rough and pitted, but the American ones are black, whereas those found in Mongolia are reddish-brown. Although no complete eggs were found, the original eggs were possibly larger than those found in Asia. While it is impossible to tell what type of dinosaur laid the eggs, they were found in close association with bones and teeth of the reptile genus *Triceratops*, which may be a descendant of the genus *Protoceratops* found in Mongolia.

Thousands of little three-toed horses and numerous birds that lived some 35,000,000 years ago in the geologic time called Oligocene are contained in a fossil deposit discovered and explored last Summer near Torrington, Wyo., by an expedition of the Harvard University Museum of Comparative Zoology. Nowhere else in the world, except in the Pleistocene beds at Rancho La Brea, near Los Angeles, do fossil bird bones occur in such abundance.

It is expected that the discovery will do much to fill missing chapters in the evolution of the horse and many birds. Over 6,000 pounds of fossil material was shipped back to Cambridge for study, and the whole fossil deposit

that extends for a half mile, varying in thickness from ten inches to three feet, has just been purchased by the Harvard Museum. A large two-ton slab of the fossil deposit was sent to Cambridge for exhibition purposes. There is no other single deposit known where practically the whole Oligocene fauna is represented; in addition to the abundance of bird bones and the thousands of skeletons of the three-toed horse, *Meshippus*, fossils of the rhinoceros, *Caenopus*, and nearly every other sort of Oligocene animal are found in the Torrington deposit.

An ancient tomb that has remained undisturbed for many centuries has been discovered at Tell Billa in Northern Mesopotamia, where an expedition sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania Museum is excavating under the direction of Dr. Ephraim A. Speiser. The tomb contains a sarcophagus made of terra cotta, an assortment of pottery and some beautiful bronzes. Apparently it dates from the Persian Achaeminid dynasty which ruled from about 540 B. C. until the conquests of Alexander the Great ended its reign about 330 B. C.

Tell Billa, one of the largest and most imposing mounds in ancient Assyria, attracted the attention of Dr. Speiser four years ago. At that time a surface examination of the site revealed that the huge mound contained extensive remains, both prehistoric and historic. The find that spurred Dr. Speiser on to further research was a brick bearing the seal of Sennacherib, Assyrian King of biblical fame; this indicated that the mound contained one of the Summer palaces of this famous royalty.

Tell Billa was also one of the places through which the "Ten Thousand" passed on their retreat after the Battle of Cunaxa in 401 B. C., when Cy-

rus, with 10,000 Greek mercenaries, was killed in an attempt to seize the Persian throne from his brother. The site of Tell Billa was occupied constantly from 4000 B. C. until the end of the Assyrian Empire in 606 B. C. and it is believed that the excavations will reveal material of the Golden Age of Assyrian art as well as prehistoric remains of importance.

Indians in Colorado long ago constructed for their religious rites mysterious circles of stones that call to mind the great stone circle at Stonehenge in England. Professor E. B. Renaud of the University of Denver while investigating the local rumor of an Indian fort, found that the "fort" was really a series of circles of gray and brown sandstone slabs set on a high cliff overlooking the Apishapa River and the surrounding country. The circle of stones would have had no usefulness as a defense and they are unlike rings marked off for wigwams. Professor Renaud concluded that labor involved in carrying the slabs and aligning them according to a pattern can hardly be justified unless the enclosure had some ceremonial function.

The Colorado circles are not constructed on so grand a scale as the prehistoric Britons achieved at Stonehenge, but the Indians had a most impressive setting for their rites. One group of circles ranged from one pace to nine paces in diameter, and the group was more or less surrounded by a slab fence with an opening at one end. At another site along the Apishapa Professor Renaud discovered another group of circles made of larger monoliths, and here he found that each circle had an upright stone post in the centre. A solar cult may be suggested by the circular shape and the presence of a central monolith.

A Month's World History

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

DISARMAMENT is a word generally associated with things military and naval, with

questions of trained reserves, of war material, of tonnage and of categories of vessels. No undue extension of the word is needed, however, to cover those economic weapons with which nations strive to gain an advantage over their neighbors, their tariffs, their restrictions on imports and exports, their subsidies, and their attempts to establish monopoly. Both sorts of weapons are defended as necessary for "security," for the preservation of cultural and economic standards, and for defense against foreign invasion, whether of troops or of goods. Both tend toward competitive increase; and, if they are not in some way limited, almost inevitably grow until they are a menace to the peace and security which they are designed to support. Both involve issues that are, in the highest degree, complex; and any adjustment of them on an international basis, so that they may lose their provocative character, is most difficult. Since they concern the very life of the nation, responsible statesmen in dealing with them find it very difficult to make the reciprocal concessions necessary either for military or economic disarmament. Even though, in their own minds, they may

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

*Princeton University; Current
History Associate*

feel certain that in this or that particular they might yield without national loss, or even with ultimate national

advantage, they, nevertheless, may know that the public opinion which they represent, less well informed, is not ready to accept their view; and that their political enemies will cry "traitor" if, in any manner, they weaken the power of the weapons on which the nation has been taught to depend.

It is this fact, plus the complexity of the standards involved, plus the constant striving of the powers which "won the war" to maintain what they gained, and the struggle of those who lost to regain their prestige, that has made the record of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission so discouraging, and which occasioned the atmosphere of pessimism which surrounded the opening of what was hoped to be its final session. Although the London naval conference last Spring tentatively settled certain controverted points, the fact that France and Italy have failed to compose their differences, and consequently have not ratified, deprives those decisions of some of their force. There remained in any event fifteen major points on the agenda, along with a host of subsidiary questions, to the discussion of which the commission was expected to

devote from six weeks to two months. It might be that the intervention of Ambassador Gibson, in his successive visits to Paris and Rome during the month of October, would result in the discovery of a formula which would break the deadlock between France and Italy; or it might be, though this hardly seemed probable, that Washington would announce a policy as to the action of the United States in the event of a violation of the Pact of Paris. It might be that Germany and Russia would force the hand of the other powers and compel some sort of affirmative action. Of these three points, by far the most important was the second, for until our government gave assurance of its action there was little hope for any very positive advance. If the conference should fail, from our glass houses it will be unwise to throw stones at the European powers as responsible for the meager result.

The preparatory commission met at Geneva on Nov. 6 with delegations from thirty-one States, including the Soviet Union and the United States. M. Aghnides, director of the disarmament section of the Secretariat, invited the principal Foreign Offices of Europe to pave the way for progress; while Hugh Gibson, head of the American delegation, tried to bring France and Italy to some agreement, thus clearing the way for further results at Geneva.

The opening speech by the Soviet delegate, Maxim Litvinov, stressed the acute need for peace in the difficult political and economic period through which the world is going. He pleaded that the commission widen the scope of disarmament. At a meeting on Nov. 7 it was agreed that armament limitation should include limitation of naval personnel, an agreement which, however, led to controversy as to whether the personnel should be limited in its entirety or by categories. The committee was apparently deadlocked on this "minor technical question." The German delegation closed

the meeting with a reopening of the discussion of limiting trained reserves. The commission, however, on Nov. 8 repeated its decision of last year to exclude trained military reserves from direct limitation. This was the only decision which had been reached up to the time of this writing. Discussion was rife as to a time limitation on conscripts' service, as to the methods of limiting naval personnel, and as to the incorporation of the decisions of the London naval treaty into the commission's treaty.

Within the economic field it is only recently that disarmament has become a living issue, and the positive results thus far obtained are very small. The movement has not progressed much beyond a partial truce and the discussion of regional agreements that will permit bargaining with other regions; but it is bringing together, for the discussion of a common danger and for the elaboration of a common defense, nations that have hitherto been almost at the sword's point.

This writer, in the November number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, had something to say about the impasse that had resulted in Europe from the attempt by tariffs to gain national advantage at the expense of the foreigner, and of the tragic overproduction and underconsumption that it has occasioned. The Commercial Convention, which was signed at Geneva on March 24, weak as it was, formulated a protest against the stupidity of the current practice; but even that tentative step is still unratified and the "tariff truce" is not yet in being. In Eastern Europe, however, there is a rapidly growing realization that there must be concrete action. On July 16 Poland made a formal proposal to Yugoslavia for the creation of an agricultural bloc of the agrarian states for the protection of their joint interests. It was stated that the movement was intended to counterbalance the influence of the British Dominions and of the Latin-American countries in

the League. Implicitly it is aimed as well against the United States. Later in the same month (July 21-24) representatives of Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia met in Bucharest to discuss their common interests. From one point of view the fact of this conference was amazing, for it is the first time that Rumania and Yugoslavia have made common cause with Hungary. Although the latter country is far from forgetting her claim to a considerable portion of the territory of her two neighbors, the disappearance of the Optants controversy has made possible so much of a rapprochement as has enabled her to join in common action envisaging agrarian cooperation and possibly a customs union.

Very little is known of the specific results of the conference other than that it may be presumed that the joint reply, which early in September the three nations made to the League questionnaire (sent out after the tariff truce conference in March), was elaborated at that time. In this statement they demanded: (1) Preferential treatment of agricultural products of European origin; (2) the establishment of a reasonable price level; and (3) complete freedom of commerce for cereals in the European market. A week after the close of the Bucharest conference, delegates representing Rumania and Yugoslavia met at Sinaja in Rumania. The communiqué issued after it merely said that "the two countries are in agreement as to the measures necessary to give priority to Rumanian and Yugoslavian agricultural products in the European market." Negotiations were at once undertaken to bring Czechoslovakia, the other member of the Little Entente, into the agreement. It was pointed out that Czechoslovakia buys annually more cereals than the combined grain exports of Rumania and Yugoslavia. While it is not proposed that she should undertake to purchase the entire exportable surplus, it was suggested that she should agree, in

exchange for priority rights for Czechoslovakian manufactures, to buy about \$362,000,000 worth of Yugoslavian cereals and a slightly smaller amount from Rumania.

With this preparation the governments joined in a nine-power conference at Warsaw on Aug. 28. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia were represented, as was also the League of Nations. Lithuania was obliged to decline on account of her political differences with Poland. The resolutions are summarized in the *Economist* (London): (1) Favoring cooperative action for regulating and rationalizing the export of agricultural products, and the elimination of unnecessary competition between the States represented in the conference; (2) a recommendation that the "most favored nation" concessions granted by European countries should be subject to restrictive application in respect to agricultural imports from overseas, to the benefit of agricultural products of European origin; (3) the desirability of securing immediate credits (up to five years, if possible) for agriculture through the League of Nations; (4) recommending the preparation and distribution of adequate and uniform statistical data; (5) a joint recommendation to the League of Nations that a standard form of veterinary regulation be imposed on all countries importing and exporting live stock and meat products; and (6) similar international action to prohibit payment of export premiums.

The soundness and efficacy of the principles enunciated in these resolutions may be debatable, but their chief significance lies in the fact that within two days nine nations were able to agree on a concerted program for action. This is a phenomenon hitherto almost unheard of in international affairs.

France was very prompt in expressing her desire to supply the credits needed by the agrarian States. Her

Minister of Commerce, M. Flandrin, has recently visited several of the capitals, and it is believed that he offered, in exchange for preferential treatment of French manufactures, to furnish a large share of the funds required. A meeting of the joint committee, appointed by the Warsaw conference, is soon to be held in Belgrade, and it is likely that specific proposals will be made at that time.

Another conference of equal interest was held in Athens during the week following Oct. 5, attended by representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Turkey and Yugoslavia. While it was unofficial in character, the delegates were men of political and economic importance in their respective countries. They discussed many questions related to cooperation in the economic field, and even went so far as to explore the possibility of some form of Balkan union. What will come out of it, nobody knows; but that it is an event of first rate importance when Greece and Turkey, Albania and Yugoslavia meet to discuss common interests, there is no doubt. There is ground for hope

that, as a result of common economic distress, the nations of Eastern Europe—or, as M. Delaisi, in his new book, *Les Deux Europees* styles it, Agrarian Europe—may so far forget their traditional antagonisms as to recognize the necessity for cooperation and undertake the measures necessary to secure it.

The adjustment between the interests of Agrarian Europe and Industrial Europe, between them both and the British Commonwealth, no less between Europe and the United States, will require time and patience, a knowledge of economic interrelations, and most of all, mutual good feeling. If success is to crown this effort to secure economic rehabilitation, certain traditional practices and conceptions must be replaced by others. "Most favored nation" tariffs may have to go, or be greatly modified; the type of protection embodied in our present tariff law most certainly will have to give place to something less drastic; and economic interdependence must secure legal recognition. National self-interest will remain, but it must be more enlightened.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

DISARMAMENT, opium, tariffs, slavery, light-houses—these are the most important sub-

jects to which the League of Nations gave its attention during October and the first part of November.

Opium is a difficult question that has about exhausted the patience of public opinion and on which some real progress at last seems possible. The Geneva Convention of 1925 has now been ratified by thirty-eight nations, including all the important countries of the world except the United States, Turkey and some of the Latin-American States. In accordance with this

By PHILIP C. NASH

Director,
The League of Nations Association;
Current History Associate

convention statistics are now available so that real comparisons can be made between the various countries.

The Central Opium Board, meeting on Oct. 16, reports that Sweden uses 12 kilograms of cocaine per year per 1,000,000 inhabitants, whereas Great Britain uses 5, Australia 14 and the United States 7. Turning to one of the most powerful derivatives of opium, diacetylmorphine, the board finds that Japan and France use 20 kilograms per year per 1,000,000, whereas Italy uses 2, and the average for all countries is about 1. Definite figures and wide differences like these

make progress possible in finding the sore spots and in checking the illicit traffic at its sources.

The logical consequence of these studies was the meeting of a preliminary conference of opium manufacturing countries in London on Oct. 27. The United States was represented at this conference by Herbert L. May. The purpose of this preliminary meeting, according to Mr. Henderson, the British Foreign Minister, was to work out definite plans for allocating the legitimate opium needs of the world among the drug manufacturing nations and then to see that no greater quantity of drugs than this is produced. These plans will be submitted to a general opium conference to be held next May.

The economic committee of the League met in Geneva on Oct. 27 to investigate the possibility of further "concerted economic action" postponed from the conference last Spring, and to study the possibility of working out tariff preference between the nations of Eastern and Western Europe without entirely abrogating the "most favored nation" clause. Most of the world still leans toward higher tariffs for protection of prosperity, but Central Europe is definitely tending the other way, and the eight agricultural countries which met at Warsaw are definitely offering tariff preference for German, Czechoslovakian and Swiss manufactured goods in return for lower tariffs on their grain. The problem is complicated by the possibility of protests from Canada, Australia and South America, who wish to sell their grain in the same markets.

The subcommittee on veterinary questions met on Oct. 20 to try to facilitate trade between countries that wish to export plants and animals and those that wish to import them, but at the same time protect themselves from diseases.

A conference met at Lisbon on Oct. 6 under the League section on communications and transit, to work out

uniform regulations and procedure for the buoyage and lighting of coasts. Thirty-three nations, including the United States, were represented. Many matters were satisfactorily settled.

The preliminary report of the gold delegation has excited wide comment all over the world. The conclusions are that gold production in the world will gradually decrease, while gold needs as a basis for world credit will inevitably increase. As gold and money based on gold become more scarce, the value of this money becomes greater—that is, it will buy more of other goods, and prices therefore will fall. The remedy proposed by the committee is for all nations to decrease gradually the percentage of gold reserve, which now seems unnecessarily high.

The League is probably to have another autonomous section under its jurisdiction, the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome having voted to place itself under the aegis of the League.

With the Irish Free State's filing of the required tenth ratification the International Convention on Economic Statistics will come into force in ninety days. Thirty-four States have now ratified the optional clause of the World Court, thirty-two the protocol for revision of the court statute and twenty-nine the protocol for American adherence to the court.

The League commission investigating slavery at the invitation of the Liberian Government—Dr. Charles Johnson of Fisk University was the American member—reported three kinds of slavery still in existence there—some cases of domestic slavery, the "pawn" system by which a chief pledges some member of his family as security for a loan, and some recruiting of labor by force. The Liberian Government promptly declared these three forms of slavery abolished.

The governing body of the International Labor Organization held its fiftieth session on Oct. 7. A committee of twelve was appointed to study un-

employment. Consideration also was given to the form in which the question of hours of work in coal mines shall come up at the next general International Labor Conference in May, 1931. Deputy Director Butler of the International Labor Organization

is now paying an informal visit to Canada and the United States. Sir Eric Drummond, secretary general of the League, will visit Uruguay for its centenary celebration and has been invited to visit several other countries in South and Central America.

THE UNITED STATES

THE election of Nov. 4, 1930, should delight

By D. E. WOLF

the future historian as greatly as it baffles the contemporary witness of the scene. For that election established new precedents and strengthened old ones. It invited rash interpretations of the past two years and equally rash predictions for the next two. It created a situation unique in American political history which may materially affect the future character of our government; but only the future can tell. In short, the election defies all reduction to a neat and conventional pattern and its meaning is as much in dispute as that of the picture which was hung upside down at the Carnegie exhibition in Pittsburgh.

Complications were, however, to be expected from an election in which the usual midterm reaction against the party in power was intensified by a business depression; in which prohibition was an explosive issue, cutting across both parties; in which an unfortunate tariff bill was made to appear the arch villain; in which all the disappointed hopes and the grievances of a people irritated and discouraged by bad business converged upon a much harassed President. Add to these the hundred and one local issues and the 870 personalities (counting only major candidates) involved in electing a House of Representatives and you have a few of the complexities of a country-wide election.

The result was a victory for the Democratic party, which, if not a landslide (a much-disputed word), was

certainly greater than the Republicans had feared. It was a victory

which reduced the Republican majority in the House from 103 to a possible two and in the Senate from a deceptive 16 to zero. Thus, the Seventy-second Congress, which by one of our curious political anomalies is not due to meet until December, 1931, will differ from the present Congress approximately as follows:

	HOUSE.		SENATE.	
	Old.	New.	Old.	New.
Republican	268	218	55	47
Democratic	165	216	39	47
Farm-Labor ...	1	1	1	1

While admitting that this situation was unprecedented, Republicans denied that it was sensational. They compared their loss of 51 seats in the House with the Democratic loss of 118 seats in the Cleveland midterm election of 1894. They pointed out that the Republicans lost 57 seats in the middle of Taft's term and 75 in the middle of Harding's. In the light of these figures they refused to interpret the 1930 results as a defeat.

Such important matters, however, as which party will control the new legislature, who will be Speaker of the House, or who will rule the powerful committees must remain in doubt until December, 1931. There will no doubt be deaths and resignations in the next twelve months, new appointments and elections to fill the vacancies and at least fifteen contested seats where victories were so doubtful as to hinge on less than a hundred votes. But one thing is certain. Neither of the major parties will

have a dependable working majority and both parties will seek alliances with the insurgent bloc, which will hold the balance of power. In the Senate, it is true, this presents no new situation, for the (nominally Republican) insurgents, under Senator Borah's leadership, have aligned themselves with the Democrats on the tariff and other major issues. But the House has been Mr. Hoover's bulwark of strength. It forced the Senate into line on the debenture and the flexible tariff clause. It defeated a veterans bill which the President opposed and passed another which he favored. It could, in short, be relied upon to push through the President's policies, which the Senate consistently obstructed, and its defection will be a serious blow to Mr. Hoover. Coalitions and bloc governments have long been familiar to the European scene, but they are comparatively new to American politics. Does the rising power of the Western insurgents portend the formation of a third political party? At any rate, it is a group of personalities which deserves to be watched. No less in the limelight are the two lone Farmer-Laborites, Representative Kvale and Senator Shipstead, whose votes will be eagerly sought by both parties. It was also suggested that Mr. Kvale might be chosen Speaker if neither party would sacrifice a vote for that position.

The Democrats achieved their gain of eight votes in the Senate by unseating nine Republicans, and giving up one place in return. This involved a number of spectacular reverses in normally Republican States. In Illinois, James Hamilton Lewis, wet Democrat, rode roughshod over Ruth Hanna McCormick, rolling up a majority of more than 700,000. This was the first time since 1892 that Illinois had gone Democratic in a strictly two-party contest. In Massachusetts, Marcus A. Coolidge, a strong wet, defeated William M. Butler, former national Republican chairman. In Ohio, Robert J. Bulkley, wet Democrat, easily won

Senator McCulloch's seat. In Kansas, George McGill succeeded in ousting Senator Allen, an unswerving administration man. Less serious losses to the Republican fold were the two insurgents, Senator Pine, who gave place to Thomas Gore, Democrat, in Oklahoma, and Senator McMaster, who was defeated by Governor Bulow in South Dakota. E. P. Costigan became Colorado's only Democratic Senator, and Judge M. M. Logan unseated Senator Robsion in Kentucky. This completes the list. The one Republican to replace a Democrat was Representative Dickinson, who vanquished Senator Steck in Iowa.

The addition of a number of new personalities will probably cause the Senate galleries to be overcrowded next December. Easily the most notable of these is former Ambassador Dwight W. Morrow, who won the New Jersey Senatorship by about 200,000 votes. Others include Secretary of Labor James J. Davis from Pennsylvania, Governor Huey P. Long of Louisiana and James Hamilton Lewis, who returns to the Senate after twelve years. The Senate lost a veteran by the defeat of J. Thomas Heflin of Alabama, who was made to pay dearly for his party defection in 1928, when he opposed Al Smith for President.

Thirty-one Governors were chosen in this election. Perhaps the most important contest, so far as national politics is concerned, took place in New York, where Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt won a great personal victory over Charles H. Tuttle. Mr. Roosevelt amassed a plurality of over 700,000, a number never before equaled in the history of that State, which used to go Republican regularly before the Al Smith era. Mr. Roosevelt's triumph, in the face of charges of laxity toward Tammany's judicial corruption, was a sign of personal power which undoubtedly puts him in line for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1932.

The Republican stronghold of Con-

necticut astonished the country by electing as Democratic Governor Wilbur L. Cross, former dean of the Yale Graduate School. Pennsylvania's electorate deserted the Republican machine to elect former Governor Gifford Pinchot, an independent dry Republican. Wisconsin adhered to tradition in choosing Philip La Follette, elder brother of the Senator, as its Progressive Republican Governor. Albert C. Ritchie, popular wet Democrat, succeeded in winning a fourth term in Maryland. James Rolph Jr., Republican Mayor of San Francisco, staged a spectacular rise to the Governorship in California.

As they affected prohibition, the election returns were variously described, by wet and dry leaders respectively, as "conclusive for repeal" and as doing no harm to the dry cause. Neither of these observations would seem to be justified. Despite the fact that the wets gained about thirty-five seats in the House, there was no change in the Senate, and Congress still remains overwhelmingly dry. This is easily demonstrated:

	WETS.	DRYS.
Senate	18	78
House	135	300

Three States holding prohibition referenda, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Illinois, all returned large wet majorities. Massachusetts voted repeal of the State enforcement act. Rhode Island endorsed repeal and Illinois gave large pluralities in favor of all three questions: Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, modification of the Volstead act and repeal of the State enforcement act.

President Hoover's only post-election comment was his statement on Nov. 7 that "the job for the country now is to concentrate on further measures of cooperation for economic recovery." In perhaps the most enlightened declaration that has come from political leaders in recent years, seven prominent Democrats announced that their party did not intend to use its "remarkable victory"

to obstruct legislation "that conduces to the welfare of the country." This pledge was signed by James M. Cox, John W. Davis and Al Smith, the Presidential candidates in 1920, 1924 and 1928; by John J. Raskob and J. J. Shouse, Chairmen of the National and Executive Democratic Committees, and by Joseph T. Robinson and John N. Garner, Democratic leaders in the Senate and House. The purpose of the statement was to allay any fears that the Democrats might use their power in Congress either to paralyze all administration policies or to engineer their own program, including a new tariff bill, thus prolonging the business tension. Senator Watson graciously accepted, in behalf of the Republicans, the Democratic offer of cooperation.

UNEMPLOYMENT

"Prevention" was the catchword in dealing with unemployment a year ago; today it is "relief," and even "emergency relief." As a matter of fact, prevention was not an appropriate word in 1929, for unemployment has been a symptom of social maladjustment since the war and, as the government well knew, it was acute even before the Wall Street crash. But the country was not psychologically prepared, a year ago, to face that fact, and the administration acted the part of the medical man who says: "The patient has just had a terrible shock. At all costs he must not be alarmed."

This Winter the situation is different. The patient knows how seriously ill he is and is ready to be told what drastic medicine he shall take. "As a nation we must prevent hunger and cold to those of our people who are in honest difficulties." This is the simple, stark appeal with which President Hoover initiated a new Winter offensive against unemployment on Oct. 17. A new organization was formed, headed by Colonel Arthur Woods, former Police Commissioner

of New York City, who undertook a similar task in the Harding unemployment drive in 1921. To act in an advisory capacity, Mr. Hoover appointed a Cabinet committee composed of Secretaries Hyde, Davis, Lamont, Wilbur, Hurley and Mellon, and Eugene Meyer, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board. It was the President's purpose to "continue and strengthen" Federal employment activities along three separate channels: by Federal expansion of public works; by cooperation with State and community organizations; and by direct contact with national industries.

No other new Federal agency was created, the idea being to work through existing bodies, which are numerous, and those which States, municipalities and private executives were creating in response to the President's appeal. There is, for instance, the business survey committee under Julius H. Barnes, which, since December, 1929, has made periodic reports on the condition of business. There is the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which has been gathering much valuable data on unemployment during the past year, even though the figures it has published have been hotly disputed. There is the committee on recent economic changes, a Hoover conception, which made its first report in the Spring of 1930.

But these are mainly fact-finding machines. To manufacture jobs where no jobs exist is a different matter, involving endless difficulties and delays. This is especially true of government undertakings. Engineers may draw up their plans and architects their designs, but all work is paralyzed until the money for it is appropriated by law. It will be remembered that just a year ago enormous schemes for public works were set in motion by the government. What became of them? Dr. Julius Klein, Assistant Secretary of Commerce revealed on Oct. 18 that \$1,110,000,000 worth of public construction contracts had been let during the first

half of 1930, as against \$875,000,000 for the year before. Another official source added that the government had begun work up to the limit of available funds and that the President would ask for more appropriations as soon as Congress convenes. Meanwhile, a new impetus was evidently needed. Each of the government departments promised to rush through its building projects, slashing red tape as much as possible. These included new public buildings, roads, inland waterways and the gigantic Hoover (originally Boulder) Dam enterprise. In the Nov. 4 election, furthermore, \$300,000,000 worth of State bond issues for public improvements were voted.

Private enterprise can act more promptly and effectively in creating employment. But, unlike the government, it requires, in addition to the wherewithal, a reasonable confidence that money spent now will bring in returns later, when business revives generally. In this field the response to the President's appeal was encouraging. A large automobile plant, for instance, which had been working on a three-day schedule announced that it would resume full-time operations, spreading the work over a greater number of employes. The railroad brotherhoods arranged to meet in Chicago on Nov. 12 to consider shortening the working day with the same aim in view. These were typical of the many responses which, from all parts of the country, came pouring in on Colonel Woods in Washington. Even more astounding was the flood of remedies, panaceas and offers of personal aid and the avalanche of callers who were eager to tell Colonel Woods just how to solve this unemployment problem. There resulted, however, no departure from the threefold policy outlined by President Hoover in his declaration of Oct. 17, which followed, in effect, the plan of the Harding unemployment organization of 1921, over which Mr. Hoover, then Secretary of Commerce, presided. Only one

radical difference between the crisis nine years ago and today was found, namely, that in 1921 there was plenty of room for private building, whereas now the building industry is overexpanded and public construction, which lagged behind during the prosperous years, is badly needed.

Acceleration of industry and expansion of public works are big and impressive phrases. But the President was wise when he used the words *cold* and *hunger*. It was the response to these words which again demonstrated the American genius for quick sympathy and quick action,—in an emergency. Almost overnight citizen organizations sprang up for the distribution of money, food, shelter and clothing in the large cities, where the extremes of wealth and poverty are to be found. In New York, Chicago, Boston and Milwaukee, to name a few, prominent laymen entered into cooperation with the charities and municipal governments. A police census in New York showed a total of 30,051 unemployed heads of families, and an emergency employment committee planned to raise \$200,000 a week during the Winter to supply 13,500 men with jobs at \$3 a day.

As usual, all figures concerning the number of unemployed were controversial. The administration's figure was 3,500,000, based on the census report of last August, which estimated that 2,508,151 able-bodied people were out of jobs and looking for work.

Thus the government assumed that unemployed in all other categories, such as disabled, temporarily laid off or voluntarily idle, amounted to no more than a million. This estimate was considered conservative, coming, as it did, just before an important election, a moment when no government cares to stress the gloomy side of its record.

The death of General Tasker H. Bliss on Nov. 9 ended a long and distinguished career of service in the highest capacities both in peace and in war. Appointed Chief of Staff in 1917, he became a member of the Supreme Allied War Council, and in 1918 was chosen by President Wilson as military adviser to the American delegation at the Versailles conference. General Bliss's military career began when he went to West Point in 1871, at the age of 18. From 1885 to 1888 he was Professor of Military Science at the Naval War College. But it was as an organizer that General Bliss proved his very unusual ability. He demonstrated this talent most clearly in his reform of the Cuban customs after the Spanish-American War and during the mobilization and draft in 1917. General Bliss's wide experience included service in Madrid, Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and on the Mexican border. He was made Assistant Chief of Staff and Major General in 1915, and Chief of Staff, with the rank of General, in 1917.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

POLITICAL unrest in Mexico early in October brought on a Cabinet crisis and resulted in changes in a number of important government and party positions. On Oct. 8 Luis León resigned as Secretary of Industry, Commerce and Labor and was succeeded by

By CHARLES W. HACKETT
Professor of Latin-American History,
University of Texas;
Current History Associate

Aarón Sáenz, Secretary for Education. The same day former President Portes Gil unexpectedly resigned as head of the National Revolutionary party, which, since its organization a few years ago by President Calles, has been dominant in Mexican politics. Portes Gil assigned ill health as his



MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

reason, but announced his intention to return to his law practice in Tampico. Other changes in government positions before Oct. 8 included the appointment of Colonel Hernández Chazaro, secretary to President Ortiz Rubio, as Governor of the Federal District in place of Cristóforo Ibáñez, who, in turn, succeeded Chazaro as secretary to the President. Chazaro served as Governor of the Federal District for only forty-eight hours, and was succeeded upon his resignation by Colonel Lamberto Hernández.

Former President Calles, who is generally regarded as the outstanding figure in Mexican political life, soon after his arrival in Mexico City from Monterey, is reported to have justified the changes on the ground that friction within the government ranks would have to be eliminated through the expulsion of persons opposed to the government's solution of economic problems. That Mexico's Cabinet crisis had ended was the assurance that was given by both President Ortiz Rubio and General Calles on Oct. 13. Subsequent events confirmed this assurance; and on Oct. 25 an important Cabinet meeting was held at which all Federal departments were represented. An agreement on retrenchments in government expenditures is reported to have been reached.

Lázaro Cárdenas, the youngest Gen-

eral of Division in the Mexican Army, was on Oct. 15 named president of the National Revolutionary party by the executive committee of that organization. General Cárdenas is a former governor of the State of Michoacán and was in charge of a federal offensive in the State of Sonora during General Escobar's military uprising in the Spring of 1929.

MEXICO'S BUSINESS DEPRESSION

Depression in business continued unabated in Mexico during October. The fall of silver exchange from a normal value of 3 to 12 per cent below that of gold on Oct. 13 agitated business circles in Mexico City. During recent months the lower price of silver has been accompanied by higher prices of prime necessities payable in silver. To alleviate the situation, the Ministry of Finance arranged to withdraw from circulation 10,000,000 silver pesos.

Trade figures for September show an unfavorable balance of approximately \$4,000,000 against Mexico in a total trade of slightly more than \$8,000,000 with the United States. To correct this and to enable Mexico to meet the present economic crisis, the Deputies from the State of Querétaro proposed in mid-October that 80 per cent of Mexico's necessities be produced at home and that imports, par-

ticularly from the United States, be curtailed drastically.

A plan to reduce imports from the United States by \$25,000,000 was drafted by the Mexican Tariff Commission and submitted to Finance Minister Montes de Oca for approval on Oct. 22. The plan proposes a heavy increase in import duties on articles that can be manufactured in Mexico or replaced by Mexican manufactures. Articles affected by the proposed tariff increases include eggs, fresh and dried fruits, canned goods, cloth (particularly artificial silk), horn, bone, glass, celluloid, rubber, leather and skins.

Copies of documents found in Mexico which disclosed Red activities have been turned over to the United States Department of State, according to a statement by President Ortiz Rubio to foreign correspondents on Oct. 20. "My government," he said, "is not only prepared but eager to cooperate with the Government of the United States in dealing with Communist activities."

The presentation of his credentials as Minister from Mexico to President Carmona of Portugal by Enrique González Martínez on Oct. 29 marked the resumption of full diplomatic relations between Mexico and Portugal.

NICARAGUA HONORS ZELAYA

The remains of J. Santos Zelaya, Liberal President-Dictator of Nicaragua from 1893 to 1909, who died in exile and penniless in New York in 1917, were permitted by the Liberal Government of President Moncada to be carried to Managua on Oct. 12, where funeral rites, attended by 20,000 people, were held after the body had lain in state in the National Palace. The revolution of 1909, which overthrew Zelaya, who was intensely anti-American, was, according to Chairman Borah of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "aided and abetted" by the United States, and the Conserva-

tive régime that followed until 1925 was, according to former Secretary of State Root, retained in power "by the presence of United States marines." Despite these facts, the coffin bearing Zelaya's remains was saluted on its arrival at Corinto by the U. S. S. Rochester. Such action may be regarded, in part, as a mark of courtesy to the present Liberal Government which came into power in 1928 as the result of elections held under the supervision of the United States.

Incomplete returns from the Nicaraguan Congressional elections, held on Nov. 2, showed the Liberals leading in most of the districts. The Liberals even won in one district in Granada, which has long been recognized as a stronghold of the Conservatives. One-third of the membership of the Senate and one-half of the membership of the Chamber of Deputies were elected on Nov. 2. The elections, which were under the supervision of United States marine officials, were reported to have been the quietest in the history of Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan Medal of Merit was posthumously awarded by President Moncada on Oct. 13 to seven officers and thirty-two enlisted men of the United States Marine Corps who lost their lives during operations against bandits subsequent to January, 1927.

LAW AND ORDER IN CUBA

The investment in President Machado by the Cuban Congress of authority to suspend constitutional guarantees and establish martial law throughout the republic at any time within twenty days of the Congressional elections on Nov. 1 had a decided stabilizing and tranquillizing effect in Cuba during October. The President did not exercise the discretionary authority, but did sign a decree on Oct. 14 which forbade the holding of meetings or assemblages of any kind throughout the republic until Nov. 2. Additional precautions against possible disturbances were the

closing of all schools throughout the republic for one week before the Congressional elections; the banning of all parades and political meetings of all kinds until Nov. 21; the garrisoning of troops at strategic points; the placing of extra guards around the President's Palace; and a decree threatening expulsion from any national educational institution of students and professors guilty of sedition.

Rumors of an impending revolution against the Machado Administration were discredited on Oct. 15 by Harold N. Denny, staff correspondent of *The New York Times*. Outside Havana, as far as Santa Clara, in Central Cuba, he reported conditions tranquil, commenting at length on the material accomplishments of the Machado Administration that he noted on every hand. From Havana on Oct. 16 he reported that that city was "in the midst of a recurrence of the disturbances among students which had their climax two weeks ago in the death of one of them in a riot near the University of Havana." A student demonstration, which resulted in the posting of heavy police guards about the Parque Central, was attributed to a declaration by Professor Vidaurreta of the University of Havana, upon his release from a two weeks' incarceration, that he would continue to fight for liberty in the streets as well as in the classroom. Tranquillity throughout Cuba was reported by The Associated Press on Oct. 29.

A light vote was cast in the Cuban Congressional elections on Nov. 1 and the counting was not expected to be completed until Nov. 5. The government's estimate on Nov. 2 was that 60 per cent of the eligible voters went to the polls. Anti-government factions disputed this claim and stated that not more than 25 per cent of those who were eligible to vote did so. Neutral observers estimated that about 30 per cent of the eligible voters exercised the right of suffrage. In Havana eight polling places did not open because of

the failure of election boards to organize properly.

Encouraging information concerning the efforts of the Cubans to overcome the financial debacle caused by the drop of sugar from 23 cents to 1 cent a pound in the last ten years, is found in an extensive report made to the United States Department of Commerce by Commercial Attaché Frederick Todd and made public on Oct. 17. As proof of the progress being made in diversification, 200 products are listed which now are made for local consumption or to a limited extent for export, many of which replace items heretofore imported.

HAITIAN CONGRESS ELECTED

The first Congressional elections since the arbitrary dissolution of the Haitian Congress on June 19, 1917, and also the first under the Constitution of 1918, were held in Haiti on Oct. 14. The holding of the election was in accordance with the recommendations of the Forbes Investigating Commission, sent to Haiti by President Hoover last February. The outcome was the election of fifteen Senators and thirty-six Deputies, the majority of whom are members of the Nationalist party and opposed to the continued military occupation of Haiti by the United States. Upon the assembling of the Congress its first duty will be to elect a permanent President to succeed Provisional President Roy, who, as a result of an expression of public opinion that was secured in accordance with recommendations of the Forbes Commission, succeeded President Borno on May 15. The election of a successor to Roy by the new Congress will be the first Presidential election held in Haiti in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of 1918. Presidential elections in Haiti since 1918 have been made by the Council of State, which, during the past twelve-year period, exercised provisional but extra-constitutional legislative powers.

SOUTH AMERICA

GETULIO VARGAS, standard-bearer of the Liberal Alliance in the elections held in Brazil last March and former

President of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, assumed the Provisional Presidency of Brazil on Oct. 30. This marked the triumph of the revolutionary movement begun on Oct. 3 by the opponents of President Washington Luis and the President-elect, Dr. Julio Prestes. Both the deposed President and his prospective successor were representatives of the Conservative party, which has dominated Brazilian national affairs since the establishment of the republic in 1889, and natives of the State of Sao Paulo, which has shared the Presidency only with the State of Minas Geraes. The revolutionary victory in Brazil, following so closely the overturns in Bolivia, Peru and Argentina, maintains the record of revolutionary successes against one-man governments which have made 1930, the year which marks the centenary of Bolívar's death, a memorable one in South American history.

When the revolution broke out, commentators seemed to agree in looking forward to a long-drawn-out struggle. Both sides commanded the support of substantial sections of the country, and each apparently had resources, in man-power as well as in finances and equipment, that would enable it to hold out for a considerable period and to weather ordinary reverses in the field. Only a collapse of the government or of the revolt seemed to make possible an early decision, and neither side gave outward evidence of any weakness. The end came with as dramatic suddenness in Brazil as in the other three countries which have shared her experiences. Only the development of the drama

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

*Professor of Romance Languages
and Dean of the Junior College,
George Washington University;
Current History Associate*

required a longer time for unfolding; the dénouement was swift, sudden and unexpected. Nor was the action-pattern essentially differ-

ent, especially in Brazil and in Peru, for it was the loss of support of those military elements upon which it relied most that brought about the fall of the government in both these instances. This does not mean that the fall was not inevitable, but only that its relatively early occurrence was due to withdrawal of support by supposedly loyal military forces.

The campaign in the field had been under way for three weeks, with apparently steady progress by the revolting Liberal armies in the south, where Dr. Vargas had personally taken the field, and in the north, where the young and fiery Juarez Tavora was the rebel commander. Because of the censorship and the conflicting claims of either side, the exact extent of Liberal gains was difficult to gauge, but it was obvious that a ring of anti-government forces, though still far away, was steadily closing in on the capital. Federal troops in increasing numbers were joining the revolutionists, although government reports maintained that progress was being made in beating back the revolutionary forces. A demand made on Oct. 17 by General Miguel Costa, one of the rebel leaders, for the capitulation of the government was refused, and Federal troops were reported to have repulsed an attack on Itarare, in Sao Paulo, and to be making advances in that sector and in Minas Geraes. It is probable that confidential reports were not so hopeful. In the north, certainly, General Tavora's army seemed to be meeting little resistance as State after State went over to the rebels.

The blow that crushed the govern-



SOUTH AMERICA

ment came on Oct. 24, just three weeks after the outbreak of the revolution. In the early hours of the morning the Third Infantry Regiment, which had been ordered from Rio de Janeiro because it was suspected of revolutionary leanings, went over to the rebels and began an attack on the outskirts of the city. Large sections of the army and the navy, including the aviation force, upon which the government counted heavily, revolted. By early afternoon the President was a prisoner and the capital was in the hands of a military junta, led by General Augusto Tasso Fragoso, General Joao Menna Barretto and Admiral Isaías de Noronha. President Washington Luis refused to resign and was imprisoned in Fort Copabacana. At the same time the government of Sao Paulo, the only State which apparently was still definitely on the side of the government, was taken over by supporters of the junta. Dr. Prestes, the declared President-elect, took refuge in the British Consulate. Rioting

with considerable destruction of property took place in Rio de Janeiro, and particularly in Sao Paulo, where mobs wrecked several newspaper offices. Abortive attempts at resistance by bodies of loyal Federal troops also marked the day, but by evening the revolutionary movement was a complete success and disorder had practically ceased.

The parallel with events in Peru here becomes more definite. As in Peru, control of affairs in the capital was in the hands of a military group formerly loyal to the government, while the leaders of the revolutionary movement were still some distance away, with no definite assurance that those in control at the centre of government would turn the direction of affairs over to them. There was the possibility either that the junta might seek to retain its authority, or that it might endeavor to secure a dominating place in a new and more permanent government. Texts of telegrams exchanged by the junta and Dr. Vargas reveal a somewhat indefinite attitude on the part of the junta, while Dr. Vargas was quite clear in his demands that the Liberal program be recognized and that the government be turned over to him. In this attitude he was strongly supported by his chief lieutenant, Oswaldo Aranha, who succeeded Dr. Vargas as President of the State of Rio Grande do Sul, by Olegario Maciel, President of Minas Geraes, and by General Tavora in the north. Senhor Aranha's telegram to the junta was clear and strong, pointing out that the Liberal movement was in possession of more than half the territory of the nation and was supported by two-thirds of the population. Fifteen States were under the organized control of the revolution, he declared, and seventy of the hundred units of the Federal army had gone over to the Liberal cause. From Rio Grande do Sul alone 100,000 men were marching toward the capital. "We have the war material to enable us to fight with superior ad-

vantage over any force that can be organized in the country," he telegraphed. "We are the majority. We cannot remain standing in the middle of the road." The junta in reply declared its program to be identical with that of the Liberals and emphasized the provisional character of all its appointments and actions.

Dr. Vargas's progress to the capital was slow, largely because of the triumphant character of his journey. Rejoicing delayed him at every step, and tributes to him were mingled with honors to the memory of Dr. Pessoa, the candidate for Vice President last March, whose assassination several months ago helped to fire the spark of revolution. Incidentally the delay made it possible for Liberal contingents from the south, largely composed of gauchos from the Brazilian pampas, and enthusiastic adherents of the Liberal program, to pour into Rio de Janeiro. Dr. Vargas's triumphant entry into the capital was followed by a quiet ceremony which marked his assumption of office as provisional President. In a brief speech General Tasso Fragoso turned over the provisional government to Dr. Vargas, who merely signed an "act" assuming authority in place of the customary inaugural ceremony. Technically, Dr. Luis was still President, since his term did not expire until Nov. 15, and he had not resigned.

General Leite de Castro, Dr. do Mello Franco and Admiral Noronha hold the same posts in the new Cabinet as in the government organized by the military junta. This may mean either of two things, that a part at least of the military junta adhered to the Liberal program from the outset, or that Dr. Vargas has formed a coalition between his original supporters and those who went over to the revolution at what General Tavora called "the eleventh hour."

The policy of the new government as outlined by Dr. Vargas includes the following items: Dissolution of Congress and a call for a new national

election for a constitutional President and Congress; amnesty to all political offenders; governmental reforms; reorganization of the army and navy; organization of a commission to determine responsibility for expenditures made under the deposed administration; and reforms in the electoral system. In a statement issued during the revolution Dr. Vargas indicated that his foreign policy would be based upon guarantees of the rights of foreigners living in Brazil and that agreements and contracts negotiated by the fallen government before Oct. 3 would be respected.

Two points in this program deserve special mention—the proposed call for new elections and the reform in the electoral system. Many of Dr. Vargas's adherents advocate his assumption of the Presidency without further election, on the ground that he was legally elected last March. The election, they declare, was "stolen" by his opponents. In one town, it is alleged, where there were only 3,000 voters, 6,000 votes were cast for the Conservative ticket and 9 for the Liberals. The proposed electoral reform, including the secret ballot, is intended to correct one of the things of which the Liberals complained, namely, the open ballot which allowed the party in power to apply pressure. On the whole it would seem that Dr. Vargas was wiser than some of his counselors in proposing a new election rather than the assumption of power on Nov. 15 on the ground that he, rather than Dr. Prestes, was the legally elected President.

An international episode that occurred in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro added to the difficulties facing the new government, already serious because of the economic situation. On Oct. 24 the German ship *Baden* which had just left Rio de Janeiro, a port of call en route to Buenos Aires, with a passenger list largely composed of Spanish emigrants, was fired on by a Brazilian fort which had just been seized by the revolutionists. Over a

score were killed. The German captain mistook blank shots of warning for salutes to the success of the revolution. The German and Spanish Governments have asked for explanations.

The economic situation is unpromising, not only because of the general depression throughout the world, which has reduced Brazil's export balance to one-sixth of what it was six years ago, but also because the budget has shown a deficit for three years, largely covered by foreign loans.

Recognition of the new Vargas Government by the United States, which had supported the defeated Luis régime with munitions, was accorded on Nov. 8. Whether the announcement by Secretary Stimson was a recognition of the new revolutionary government, or whether it was merely a continuance of the recognition which had been given to the old government, was a disputed point. The declaration by President Hoover of an embargo on the shipment of arms to the revolutionists on Oct. 22, just two days before the old government fell, while embarrassing, was apparently in accord with international law and with the policy pursued by the United States in similar circumstances in Central America, Mexico, Cuba and the Orient. It had not been applied, however, in South America previously, according to the Secretary of State, because no occasion had arisen. Recognition by Great Britain and by France made a total of sixteen nations recognizing the revolutionary government.

UNREST IN URUGUAY

Dispatches from Buenos Aires on Nov. 6 reported revolutionary unrest in Uruguay, centring in the border town of Rivera in the province of that name, in which many Brazilian exiles had found refuge. The leader of the

movement, according to these reports, was Neponuceno Saravia, representing the "Nacionalista" section of the Blanco or "White" party, which throughout Uruguayan history has opposed the party known as "Colorado." Similar activities on the part of Saravia were reported last December. It is possible that the success of the Brazilian and Argentine revolutions may have encouraged him to new efforts.

Ex-President Irigoyen of Argentina is still held on a naval vessel, though he has been transferred from the Belgrano back to the Buenos Aires, the vessel to which he was first taken. Señor Irigoyen's plea for a writ of habeas corpus, denied by the court of first instance, was carried on appeal through the federal courts to the Supreme Court, where it was again denied on Oct. 22. On Oct. 28 the former President refused to submit to an interrogation by a federal judge on charges pending against him, on the ground that only Congress could indict or try him.

Enrique Santa Marina, provisional Vice President of Argentina, resigned on Oct. 25 on the ground of ill-health.

The Bolivian Government has requested Uruguay to extradite Roberto Hinojosa, the Communist agitator who revolted against the former government of President Siles, and who is reported as planning further Communist activities against the provisional government.

The Peruvian Sanctions Court on Nov. 4 announced a list of persons who would be tried for "illegal enrichment" during the Leguía régime. They included the former President, his two sons, his two sons-in-law and more than twenty others, chiefly officeholders under President Leguía, including a number of Cabinet members, among whom is Pedro Rada y Gamio, former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE Parliament at Westminster was opened on Oct. 28 with King George's speech from the throne. His speech which was actually an expression of the views of his Ministers, began with a reference to the two conferences on imperial interests:

It has given me much pleasure to receive my Ministers from the dominions and representatives of India who are attending the Imperial Conference. I watch with deep interest the progress of their labors, the satisfactory result of which I shall confidently await.

I hope soon to welcome representatives of the princes and people of India, who are about to join with members of all parties in both houses of Parliament to consider the future constitutional position of India. My intention is to inaugurate this conference, and I earnestly trust that in the conclusion of its proceedings may be found agreed and wise solutions to those important questions upon which it will be called to deliberate.

Foreign relations were described as satisfactory and the work of British representatives in the League of Nations was commended. The more salient declarations with regard to domestic problems were:

I follow with grave concern and sympathy the continuance of heavy unemployment among so many of my people. Economic depression, unfortunately, continues to dominate the markets of the world, and the accompanying restriction of international trade is felt with particular severity in those industries which are especially dependent on exports.

My government will persist in its efforts to develop and extend home, imperial and foreign trade, and to help in measures which will lead to greater efficiency in industry.

Proposals will be laid before you for

By PRESTON W. SLOSSON

*Associate Professor of History,
University of Michigan;
Current History Associate*

the promotion of increased settlement and employment on the land, and of large-scale farming operations, and for

the acquisition and improvement of agricultural land, land in need of reconditioning, and for the organization of producers for marketing purposes.

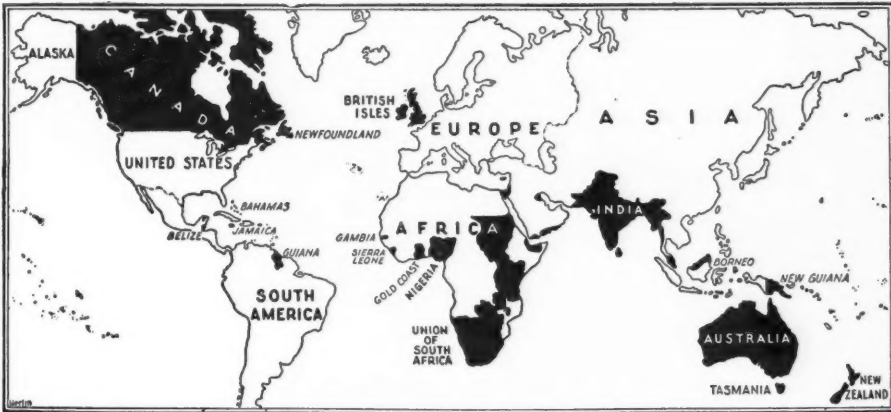
I propose immediately to set up a commission to inquire into the entire question of unemployment insurance and in particular to allegations of abuse of its provisions.* * *

My Ministers propose to introduce legislation to secure for the community its share in the site value of land.

Measures will be submitted to you for raising the age of compulsory school attendance, for amending the laws relating to trade disputes and trade unions and for setting up a consumers' council.

A measure of electoral reform will be submitted to you.

Both on the surface and between the lines of the King's speech can be read the problems and perplexities of the Labor Government. Economic depression and unemployment are the heaviest handicaps, not only because an unreflecting electorate blames hard times on the party in office, but because they give urgency to two specific criticisms: "Why do you cling to free trade when industry might be protected by tariffs?" (see article by T. J. Wertenbaker on pages 326-331 of this magazine) and "Is not your liberal policy of doles to the unemployed pauperizing the workman and at the same time ruining the taxpayer?" (See article by C. Delisle Burns on pages 367-370 in this magazine.) The outcome of the two conferences was viewed with more trepidation than enthusiasm, and both were almost sure to provide ammunition to a hopeful opposition as the opening of Parliament opened also the political battleground. The reference to elec-



THE BRITISH EMPIRE

toral reform was interpreted by the press as a bid for a Liberal-Labor alliance, since the Liberal party, with much greater voting strength in the nation at large than in the House of Commons, has been demanding a system of proportional representation in place of the present election of members of Parliament by single districts.

The three parties have undergone recent tests of the strength of their internal discipline, and in all cases the present leadership was upheld. The Labor party conference sustained Prime Minister MacDonald against radical criticisms that the present ministry was forgetting its socialistic principles and becoming a merely liberal group. David Lloyd George was warmly cheered at the annual conference of the Liberal party, held at Torquay on Oct. 17, though some of his followers expressed regret that his "keynote" had not more strongly stressed the party's position on free trade. He emphasized chiefly his own plan of providing work for the unemployed at government expense by means of public loans.

The most serious intra-party rebellion was within the Conservative ranks. The Conservatives alone have real hope of displacing the Labor ministry and they alone are ready to abandon free trade for some system of protection. But there lies the diffi-

culty. Stanley Baldwin is a protectionist, but he demanded from his party a "free hand" to make any detailed proposals that the times might call for; Lord Beaverbrook, leader of the malcontents, insisted that the Conservatives without delay pledge themselves to a protective system, imperial preference and duties on foodstuffs. "We have nothing to hope for from Mr. Baldwin," he angrily asserted. "He only says he wants a free hand to impose tariffs if necessary. He means that after a general election is held, if he is returned to power, he will begin then to think of what he will do, and then he will call another conference. * * * We can't wait two years more for Mr. Baldwin to make up his mind." Forty-four Conservative members signed a declaration to the effect that "a change of leadership is essential." Some Conservatives, however, who were at first said to be among the signers later made public denial.

Mr. Baldwin was not slow in accepting the challenge. He presented his case before a party caucus which included not only present Conservative members of Parliament but even some party candidates who are not at present seated. He declared that if defeated he would bow to the will of the party and retire from politics altogether, but that if sustained he

would "expect more loyalty than there has been in the last few months." By a vote of 462 to 116 the resolution for a change of party leadership was defeated. This amounted to a vote of confidence and assured Mr. Baldwin's position as the leader of the Opposition in Parliament and the alternative Prime Minister if Ramsay MacDonald should be forced to resign.

In spite of the severe criticism which its stubborn stand for free trade has brought on the Labor Government, no concession was offered to the Canadian proposal for a 10 per cent increase in existing or contemplated tariffs on goods imported from outside the empire. Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer, is a devout free-trader, and no ministry of which he is a member will ever make a serious concession to the high-tariff advocates. An alternative plan of encouraging trade within the empire has found favor with both Conservatives and Laborites. This is to arrange for government purchase of large quantities of staple goods from the Dominions with a view to increasing the proportion of dominion to foreign importations. Wheat is the commodity most discussed in this connection. About 47 per cent of British wheat imports come from the Dominions, and it was suggested to arrange for bulk purchases that would raise this quota to at least 50 per cent immediately, with the possibility of further increases in the future. Some dominion representatives are said to have proposed a quota of 55 per cent. In a sense, government purchase and quota distribution is just as much an interference with absolute freedom of trade as a protective tariff would be, but the suggestion is not altogether displeasing to the socialistic Laborites who have no objection in principle to State-directed trade, but object merely to the economic burden which tariffs lay on the consumer.

Another aspect of the tariff controversy has been eagerly seized by

the free trade press, the inconsistency between the Canadian proposal for preferential tariffs and "empire free trade" as understood by British imperialists of the Joseph Chamberlain tradition. Empire free trade implies tariffs against the foreigner and equally the absence of tariffs (at least of a sharply protective sort) within the empire. Premier Bennett's plan, on the contrary, is to retain a protective fence around each dominion but to erect a still higher barrier against imports from outside the empire. It gives the British exporter a better market in Canada, for example, than the German would have, but it does not put the Briton on the same advantageous footing as the native Canadian. "The dominion Premiers have roundly condemned empire free trade," says the *Liberal Manchester Guardian*. "It never had any real life; it was the product of a newspaper campaign in which sentiment and business were blended to the inextricable confusion of thought. It is just as well that the real meaning of empire preference should be understood as plainly here as it is in all the Dominions. Imperial tariffs cannot and are not intended to lead to imperial free trade; they are intended and will lead to an increase of tariffs."

Possible unrest in the Labor party was indicated by the defeat of J. H. Thomas, Secretary for the Dominions, for re-election to the National Executive of the Labor party. This defeat does not, of course, affect his position in Parliament, in the Cabinet or before the Imperial Conference, but it was embarrassing for him to welcome the conference delegates at the very time when he had received a rebuke from the trades unions which had hitherto been his strong supporters. The vote appears to have been an expression of dissatisfaction with the failure of the ministry to bring some relief to the prevalent unemployment.

Because of the discontent of all parties with the failure of the Labor

plans to relieve unemployment, and perhaps also because of the division of opinion among Conservatives as to the form protective measures should take, the Conservative opposition chose unemployment rather than the apparent failure of the Imperial conference as its first line of attack when Parliament assembled. Premier MacDonald laid part of the blame on the inertia of British industrialists, saying that "if the British industries will take all the dominion trade offered them now, we can substantially increase our export trade and decrease our unemployment."

The first assault on the government in the new Parliament came, however, from the Left. James Maxton, an extreme radical and leader of the opposition to Premier MacDonald within the Labor party, moved an amendment to the reply to the speech from the throne expressing regret that the speech "contains no proposals making for the socialist reorganization of industry, agriculture, banking and export and import trades, and for a fairer distribution of national income." Only thirteen votes were offered in support of Maxton's remonstrance.

The Conservative amendment to the address in reply to the speech from the throne censured the government for having no constructive program to cure the industrial depression and unemployment. After several days of listless debate, the amendment came to a vote on Nov. 4. The Labor Government won this first important division in the new session of Parliament by a vote of 281 to 250. Although most of the Liberals abstained from voting, four supported the Conservative amendment and five others voted with the Government.

The Labor party's home and imperial policy was reviewed by Premier Ramsay MacDonald in London on Nov. 10 at the Lord Mayor's banquet. Speaking before a group that included the dominion Prime Ministers, the representatives from India at the Round Table conference, diplo-

mats and others, the Prime Minister pledged Britain's efforts to gain for India that amount of self-government "essential to national self-respect and contentment." Referring to the imperial conference, he said that it had worked in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and had strengthened the bonds of the empire by removing "the decaying fabric of coercion and overlordship." In international relations, Mr. MacDonald declared that the world is lagging behind Great Britain in disarmament. At home all parts of the empire are confronted with grave economic problems, not the least being unemployment. But this he held was a world-wide problem which Great Britain was facing more honestly than other nations. His address, which was broadcast to America, ended with a plea to meet all problems squarely, to "play the game."

Municipal elections in 300 English and Welsh towns and cities at the end of October showed an unexpected and sweeping gain for Conservative candidates at the expense of Labor men. Another straw in the wind was the victory of a "tariff reform" parliamentary candidate, Vice Admiral E. A. Taylor, for South Paddington, who defeated the regular Conservative as well as a Labor candidate.

THE UNREST IN INDIA

The assembling of the Conference on India was fixed for Nov. 12, and the King was expected to attend the opening session. The British Government, and likewise the Labor party, was to be represented by the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor and the Secretaries of State for India, Foreign Affairs and the Dominions. Four Liberals and four Conservatives were also designated. Besides the thirteen British representatives, sixteen delegates were to come from native States in India and sixty from British India.

The government in India has felt constrained to order the arrest of many adherents of the All-India Na-

tional Congress, an organization for nationalist propaganda which has outlined a plan for striking at British rule by refusing taxes, replacing the public courts by volunteer arbitral boards, boycotting British goods and pro-British merchants and dictating manufacturing policy to the textile industry. Thousands of textile workers in Bombay are unemployed, and the boycott seems to be turning into a really effective weapon. Trade reports show a heavy falling off in Indian imports of British merchandise, and the blow is felt with peculiar severity because of the hard times prevailing in British industrial cities. The Viceroy has authorized the seizure of the premises and property of "unlawful associations," and on Oct. 29, a sentence of two years' imprisonment was passed on Pandit Nehru, a former president of the Congress, on charges of sedition, incitement to disorder and violation of the salt act. On the eve of the round-table conference 27,000 prisoners were behind the bars as a result of the year's upheaval in India.

AUSTRALIAN DIFFICULTIES

The economic crisis is still the principal problem of Australia. A general policy of reduced expenditures, the maintenance of balanced budgets and

the reduction of external as well as internal debt will, it is hoped, eventually restore financial and economic stability. After a hard fight in the caucus of the Federal Labor party, several of Prime Minister Scullin's financial proposals were accepted. These included a 6-cent tax on tea, an increase in the property tax and a supertax on "sheltered" incomes. The tea tax was conceded only after strong opposition by the Laborites to the principle of food taxation.

After one of the bitterest campaigns in its history, the State of New South Wales on Oct. 25 elected the State Labor party to power. The leader of the party, J. T. Lang, had opposed the policy of financial retrenchment adopted by the Federal and State Governments two months ago, although he had not favored the policy of debt repudiation. The election was a further blow at the attempts of Sir Otto Niemeyer, representative of the Bank of England, to solve Australian financial difficulties. The Labor party's victory, which had not been expected, caused a decline of several points in Australian loans on the London Stock Exchange. The changed situation in New South Wales was expected to limit somewhat the Federal Government's policy of curtailing expenditures.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

THE French Parliament reconvened on Nov. 4, after a recess of four months. This long breathing spell which should have soothed the passions and abated the partisan spirit of the Opposition seemed on the contrary to whet all the more its appetite for regaining power.

Besides the old grudges of past months, which were held over, new grievances developed during the Sum-

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

*Professor of French,
Cornell University;
Current History Associate*

mer, which were the occasion for new interpellations, to be added to the long list of those already filed.

The Tardieu Ministry was able repeatedly during the last session to repel the attacks of the opposition of the Left. In the present session the situation is complicated by the hostility of a large section of the government's supporters of the Right to the policies of M. Briand. M. Briand during the month of October was laid up



FRANCE AND BELGIUM

with an illness that threatened to be serious, but was able to resume his place at the opening of the session. His return was greeted with an ovation from his followers who include the whole of the Opposition but only a part of the majority.

Two days after its opening the Chamber staked a display of pyrotechnics such as induced one correspondent to call its sessions "the best show in Paris." A fist fight broke out between the friends of M. Leon Blum, the Socialist, and Camille Aymard, director of the Nationalist *La Liberté*, who had called M. Blum a traitor and published an offensive cartoon of him. A general scrimmage followed, in which M. Aymard, as the centre of attack produced and flourished a dog whip. Only the appearance of armed republican guards put an end to the disorder.

The centre of verbal attacks, however, was M. Briand, whose foreign policies came in for bitter criticism in the opening debate. M. Franklin-Bouillon, Opposition Deputy, on Nov. 6 pointed to the menace of a secretly arming Germany and made this direct appeal to M. Briand: "The German elections have proved that your policy for the past five years has been a mis-

take. I beg of you to admit it now and repair it by changing your attitude while there is yet time." Another speaker was the blind Deputy, Georges Scapini, who said that he favored a return to the two-year compulsory military service. M. Briand was scheduled to reply to his critics on Nov. 13.

M. Tardieu managed during the vacation to placate somewhat the enemies of the government's foreign policies by stressing in his speeches the more obvious necessities of national defense, for which 12,000,000,000 francs have been asked in the budget of 1931, while ignoring the attacks on M. Briand himself. He especially deflected attention from the more contentious subjects of controversy to the favorite *leit motifs* of his oratory, namely prosperity, the necessity of union and the superiority of practical reforms over doctrinal discussions.

A fortnight before the return of Parliament he went into his electoral district of Belfort to deliver three addresses. The one he gave at Delle on Oct. 19 was particularly illustrative of M. Tardieu's realistic approach to the political problems. He stressed first the stability of the third Republic. After sixty years during which it has rebuilt the France crushed in 1870, created a colonial Empire of 60,000,000 inhabitants, won the hardest of wars and reconstructed devastated lands, the government has against it only two anti-constitutional minorities which, between them, have less than fifteen of the six hundred members in the House. The political stability of France is equaled only by its economic stability as shown by its resistance to the present worldwide depression. And here M. Tardieu marshaled, with his usual glee, all the figures that support his contention: the gold reserve of 50,000,000,000 francs, the savings bank deposits which, between 1926 and 1929, rose from 15,000,000,000 to 32,000,000,000 francs, the State bonds which reached levels only attained by Holland, Switzerland and Sweden. Industry regis-

tered a 4 per cent increase over 1928. Railway receipts and car loadings maintained their level. The decrease in exports is smaller than in neighboring countries and in July the production of pig iron and of steel showed a falling off everywhere, except in France. Last but not least, as compared with the two, three and four million unemployed in the three great industrial countries of the world, France had only 1,000 workless. The budget shows not 1 cent increase over the preceding year—5,500,000,000 francs tax reductions and 15,000,000,000 amortization. But the stability of the régime and the economic stability, in order to have their full value, must have, pleaded Premier Tardieu, the action of an administration backed by a country united in its aims and not torn by dissensions, political rivalries and petty quarrels.

At present the other great party which has any valid claims to the direction of the State, the Radical-Socialist party, is making such unanimity impossible. It has opposed the government not so much because its general philosophy is so different, but because it resented seeing "the Right" share in the control of public affairs. This came out at the annual convention of the Radical-Socialist party held at Grenoble during the first fortnight in October. From the party's standpoint the convention was a success and, judged in the light of the French parliamentary situation, its resolutions were not without import. The best speakers of the party came to the fore; Messrs. Chautemps, Daladier, and Herriot made pronouncements and finally the attitude of the party was officially set forth in a statement unanimously adopted. The most telling points of this statement, in which hostility to the Tardieu ministry was undisguised, were the following: "We emphatically refuse any alliance with the clerical, nationalistic and conservative parties of the right. Our party is ready to assume the responsibility of power and bring

about the union of all Republicans who believe sincerely in the secular form of the State and in a policy of social reforms, of progress and of peace. Our convention is convinced more than ever that peace can only be assured by the triumph of democracy while it would be compromised by those who rely on force, who practice a policy of prestige and arouse nationalistic passions."

Every one of these statements is intended as a rebuke not so much to M. Tardieu himself as to the majority and to the press that supports him. What made this manifestation ominous for the Cabinet was that the statement called not merely for a union with all the Radical and Socialist groups (which would be only the old cartel of 1926) but also with all the groups of the Left, which include some of the elements now supporting M. Tardieu. Moreover, the more advanced and aggressive elements of the party represented by the young deputy of Seine-et-Oise, M. Bergery, or by the militant deputy and Mayor of Le Havre, Leon Meyer, and even perhaps by the somewhat acrid M. Daladier, president of the executive committee, were outvoted by the moderate wing which followed the wiser counsels of men like Herriot and Chautemps.

In the field of international politics, where a distinct anti-nationalist note was unanimous, some speakers went so far as to advocate a policy no longer limited by the sacrosanct formula of arbitration, security and disarmament. Pierre Cot, deputy from Savoie, who was until this year French delegate at the League of Nations, boldly injected the suggestion that disarmament enforced on Germany should not be unilateral, stating that France "has had the privilege of spending a higher percentage of her revenue on armaments than any other country without deriving from it any greater sense of security." And Gaston Bergery created a stir by declaring that "it was time that France instead of clutching the carcass of dead

treaties should take the initiative in necessary adjustments," a doctrine also boldly launched in the press by the nationalist writer G. Hervé. The older members of the party, especially M. Herriot, whose address was acclaimed by the convention, brought the audience back to the traditional policy of the party, which, while never nationalistic, has always been distinctly "national." All the speakers were unanimous in expressing confidence in M. Briand whose policy and personality during his illness continued to be the target of the extremists of the Centre and the Right parties, and of the few radicals that follow the irrepressible M. Franklin-Bouillon. The latter's interpellation on foreign policies, one of the first to come before the House, drew a gloomy picture of an armed and warlike Germany, of whom France must beware.

President Doumergue, who is in the last year of his term, during the month of October presided at the launching of the new 10,000-ton cruiser *Dupleix* and paid an extended visit to Morocco. His personality, ingratiating smile and his tact in saying the appropriate thing, which have made of him one of the most popular Presidents of the Third Republic, won for him the praise of the people whom he addressed. At Brest he took the occasion of the naval event to reiterate the French doctrine of peace coupled with security, saying: "The organization of our military forces proves that their aim is purely defensive. * * * They are not intended to favor an aggression or undertake a war, but to avoid them. Compared with our prewar forces they are very much curtailed and it is not France who is behind in the reduction of armaments. Our country asks only to live in peace in order to devote itself entirely to practical reforms and enterprises, to progress in every sphere so as to increase not merely the prosperity of France and of its inhabitants but also that of all the nations of the world."

The visit to Morocco, between Oct. 15 and 21, was a sequel to President Doumergue's visit to Algiers in the Spring and served to focus again the attention on the French work in Northern Africa. Accompanied by the Ministers of War and of the Navy, he went to Morocco to return to the young Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef the visits which the late Sultan Moulaï Youssef and himself had paid to France. This trip took him over the section of Morocco in which France, in less than twenty years, has built roads, railroads, schools, court houses, hospitals and parks. The President was acclaimed by colonists and natives, some of the younger nationalist elements only remaining cold or unresponsive. Landing in Casablanca, the business centre and seaport, he went to Rabat, the administrative capital, from there to Fez, the religious and educational metropolis, and finally to Marrakesh, the ancient capital of Morocco. Everywhere he was received by local chiefs and on one of the plateaus of the Middle Atlas the emissaries of several tribes of nomads, led by their caids, brought to the President the homage of their people long rebellious to French rule.

At Rabat the addresses exchanged between the young Sultan and President Doumergue summed up the French achievements in Morocco which the young Sultan praised in a spirit and style betraying the inspiration of his French official advisers, while M. Doumergue, after pointing out what France had done in this land which, for centuries, was outside the pale of civilization, gave the solemn assurance that she would always maintain with scrupulous respect "the customs, traditions and beliefs" of these peoples over which she has exercised such a beneficent protectorate.

FRENCH FINANCES

The finance committee of the chamber, composed in the majority of

radicals, adopted a resolution opposing a transfer from the budget to the national sinking fund of the redemption of the internal debt amounting to \$60,000,000, unless this operation is incorporated by a vote of Parliament in the finance law for 1931. This refers to the scheme by which the Tardieu Government contrived to balance the budget of 1931 without an increase in receipts. Several members contend that this transfer would constitute a partial conversion of the debt and therefore requires a vote of Parliament. This is one more point on which a battle will have to be waged with the Opposition.

A few days before M. Tardieu made his optimistic report on French economic stability the customs figures showed a slump for the first eight months of 1930 of more than \$160,000,000 in French imports and an equal amount in exports, as compared with 1929. The most considerable declines in the import figures were on raw materials and foodstuffs, while there was an increase of more than \$40,000,000 on manufactured articles imported. The greatest declines in exports were on manufactured products, while the increases were on the side of foodstuffs. September, however, rethan any of the preceding months, and, as M. Tardieu pointed out, neighbors and rivals showed still more discouraging figures.

BELGIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

French policy was again duplicated in Belgium where, on Oct. 25, a decree was published to curb Russian imports and prevent dumping. This decision, which was taken at the request of the powerful Farmers' Union, a highly protectionist organization, imposed on several categories of goods the obligation of obtaining a license either for import or for transit. Among the goods thus submitted to special formalities were wheat, oats, barley, rye, wines, glue, hides and

pelts. This decree satisfied the protectionists, but did not meet with the approval of Antwerp, whose Chamber of Commerce saw in it a serious blow to its shipping. Indeed, it had the result of deflecting business to Rotterdam, where twenty-two Russian ships immediately repaired. The fear that other countries submitted to the same regulation would do likewise was dispelled, however, as far as South corded smaller reductions in trade America was concerned. Notice was received from several countries stating that ships, then en route, would submit to the new decree. An Antwerp paper illustrated the damage done by this decree to Belgium by quoting the fact that, during the last two months, Antwerp handled 120,000 tons of Russian grain in transit for Switzerland, Germany and France and that the Russian ships returned to Russia with \$100,000 worth of Belgian textiles, leather, nickel, zinc, iron bars and photographic and chemical products.

The Antwerp diamond merchants have likewise been hit by the failure of their negotiations with the South African Government. Their demand for fixed prices for uncut diamonds throughout the world, to give all diamond workers an equal chance, has not prevailed and there is no hope for a business revival in this trade until a universal agreement can be established.

The economic depression, which is keenly felt in Belgium, is reflected in the financial situation. The budget of 1931, in spite of drastic retrenchment, especially in the appropriations for public works and national defense and increases in taxes, may show a serious deficit. It may be necessary to make 200,000,000 francs additional savings, and the question of loans amounting to 400,000,000 and perhaps 800,000,000 francs has been considered. During the first week in November, however, a noticeable trade revival was reported.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

THE atmosphere of fear and pessimism which accompanied the great gains of the Hitler Fascist and Communist extremists in the Reichstag elections of Sept. 14 quickly gave way to a feeling of more security and the hope of successful constructive financial legislation on the part of the Bruening Cabinet. This confidence in German common sense was indicated by a six-point rise in Young plan bonds on the New York stock market; it was manifested in the large majorities which the Bruening Cabinet, with the support of the Social Democrats, was able to register when the Reichstag convened on Oct. 13. The middle parties rallied to the government's standard and showed that in a time of real emergency party politics can be temporarily forgotten.

In the course of a week's stormy sessions, enlivened by picturesque Hitlerite demonstrations, the Reichstag made several important decisions—all by surprisingly large majorities—and adjourned until Dec. 3, thus leaving the Bruening Cabinet free to work out, unhampered, the details of its reform program. The first important vote, that of confidence in the Bruening Coalition Government, passed by 318 to 236, a margin of 82 in the Chancellor's favor.

The immediate financial crisis was met by the passage of a bill establishing an amortization fund to take care of Germany's floating debt, which by the end of August stood at 1,250,800,000 marks (about \$300,000,000), as well as of the new \$125,000,000 international loan. Both these will be redeemed in three annual instalments. Cash will be handed to Germany, according to her requirements, against six-month exchequer bonds, which the country will be entitled to prolong three times. The \$125,000,000

By SIDNEY B. FAY
*Professor of History, Harvard
University and Radcliffe College;
Current History Associate*

loan, approved by the Reichstag, is offered largely by American banks through Lee, Higginson & Co., but is also participated in by Swedish, Dutch and German banks. It calls for 4¾ per cent interest, plus 1¼ per cent commission. Much comment was caused by the fact that the British and the French were unwilling to participate, the latter especially on account of the triumph and threatening utterances of the Hitlerites. Aside from the attitude of the French and the British, the arrangement of the loan may be regarded as a vote of confidence by international bankers in the Bruening Government, similar to the German vote of confidence by the Reichstag.

Motions demanding the revision of the Young plan and the cessation of reparation payments were temporarily shelved by substantial majorities referring them to the Reichstag Foreign Relations Committee. The Chancellor merely announced that if the attempt to enforce the government's program of fiscal reforms broke down under the continued pressure of the economic crisis at home and abroad, Germany would be forced, for the protection of her economy and her currency, to take recourse to those safety devices which were put at her disposal when she assumed her present foreign obligations. He made no direct mention of a reparations transfer respite or moratorium, but his remarks suggested to both friendly and hostile Reichstag Deputies that the Government was plainly envisaging the possibility, sooner or later, of such an eventuality as the forced reopening of the reparations question. That this is economically inevitable, as a matter of years if not of months, has been emphasized in a series of lectures in this country by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, former president of the Reichsbank.



GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Care has been taken to point out, however, that Dr. Schacht spoke merely as a private German citizen, and was in no sense an official representative of the German Government.

Before its adjournment the Reichstag also voted to refer to its Budget Committee the Cabinet's emergency financial measures, including the 1930 budget, which were enacted by the Bruening Government at the end of last July by making use of the emergency Article 48 of the Constitution. This is generally considered as tantamount to their acceptance by the Reichstag when it meets again. Since the adjournment, the Chancellor has explained his program more in detail and made a strong plea for its acceptance. He has told his hearers that "all liberty involves sacrifice. While the Young plan brought Germany liberation from foreign control, is it not up to the government to see that Germany makes the right use of this freedom? It must be made secure and permanent."

In recent conferences with the Federal States he has outlined to them confidentially the purposes of German foreign policy, so that they would realize the necessity of the financial and economic measures which he proposed. He has met with good response. From all parts of Germany business men are advising the government that they are

ready to invest capital and place new orders, provided the government's program is put through at the earliest possible moment. In reply Chancellor Bruening has said that he was optimistic enough to believe that Germany might prove better able to overcome some effects of the world economic crisis than certain other countries.

The financial program which Chancellor Bruening has worked out forms a unified whole, and provides for a general reduction of expenditures in all branches of administration (with two trifling exceptions). All officials are to accept a 20 per cent reduction in salaries, beginning with President Hindenburg at the top. The costs of unemployment insurance, forming one of the largest drains on the budgets of the Reich and the States and the communes, are to be met by raising the contributions of both employers and workmen from $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of their wages, as provided in the July emergency decrees, to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The budgets of the Reich and the States and communes are not to exceed a specified amount during the next three years, thus doing away with the possibility of further drafts on the federal treasury, such as have been partly responsible for the present financial straits.

According to Chancellor Bruening's most recent statement, Germany's receipts and expenditures in the 1931 budget will be 1,423,000,000 marks (about \$341,000,000) less than in 1930. This reduction has been made possible by drastic cuts in all departments, except in the Ministry of Justice and Food Ministry, where for special reasons there are slight increases.

On Oct. 15 more than 120,000 metal workers in the Berlin district went on strike in protest against an arbitration verdict calling for a slight reduction of wages. After two weeks a compromise plan was adopted for the resumption of work on the following conditions: the former wages to be continued for the present, and no punishment to be given to the strike lead-

ers; a new wage adjustment to be made by an arbitration committee comprising one representative each of the employers and metal workers under the chairmanship of former Minister of Labor Heinrich Brauns. The new wage scale, which must be decided upon by the end of the first week of November, will be binding on both parties.

AUSTRIAN ELECTIONS

The elections, which have given rise to great political excitement in Austria, took place on Nov. 9. The results, as reported on Nov. 10, were as follows: Social Democrats (Socialist), 72; Christian Social party (Seipel party), 66; Economic party (new group led by Dr. Schober), 19; Heimwehr party (Prince von Starhemberg's Fascists), 8.

In the weeks preceding the elections there was considerable tension between the Heimwehr (conservative military organization) and the Socialists, and it was expected that the electoral contest would be a test of strength between the Right and the Left.

Prince Starhemberg, head of the Heimwehr and Minister of the Interior in the Vaugoin minority Cabinet, virtually threatened to ignore the outcome at the polls and to continue to hold power in case of a Socialist victory. "Give us a Parliamentary majority of the Right, or we shall give you a Right dictatorship," he announced in effect. He had already begun to exercise dictatorial powers before the election, in confiscating some of the moderate and highly respected journals such as the *Neue Freie Presse*. It is probable that Mgr. Seipel, when he persuaded Prince Starhemberg to enter the Vaugoin Cabinet, hoped that he would induce the Heimwehr to throw in its voting strength with his own Christian Socialists. But the Heimwehr refused to follow their leader into the clerical camp. The argument of the Heimwehr leaders was that all those voters, who,

if anti-Socialist, were not pro-clerical, should have an opportunity to vote on a purely anti-Socialist, which meant a Heimwehr, ticket.

At the last general elections the Christian Socialists and the Pan-Germans, who had a common ticket, received 73 and 12 seats respectively; the Socialists 71, and the Farmers' party 9. The Christian Socialists wished to cooperate with the Heimwehr to attain a two-thirds majority with which to effect additional constitutional changes further to cripple socialism in Austria. This would have required a gain of 37 seats. In contrast to the bourgeois parties, the Socialists entered the elections with closed ranks. To attain a Parliamentary majority they had to win a dozen new seats.

In order to be able to carry on the government, the Christian Social party were in the difficult and even humiliating position of having to make terms with Schober, whom they deposed as Chancellor. Schober, on the other hand, was bound by pre-election pledges not to unite with the Socialists, and seemed ready to reach an agreement with the Christian Social party provided that the two Heimwehr Ministers were dropped from the government and Vaugoin's efforts to man the police, army and railways with his appointees were nullified.

Some of the more rash Heimwehr leaders in Styria had apparently planned a march on Vienna, to bring about a Right *Putsch* on Nov. 2 to thwart a Socialist victory, or at least to cause a postponement of the elections, thus leaving the government in the hands of the present conservative Cabinet. But the plot was exposed by a representative of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. It was then disavowed and denied by the Heimwehr leaders, and Premier Vaugoin announced that the people need have no fear that the elections would be postponed or interfered with by force.

On Nov. 4 the Vaugoin Government

made a search of Socialist clubs, warehouses and dwellings and seized, according to official report, some twenty machine guns, several hundred rifles and several thousand rounds of ammunition. The Socialists charged, and probably with justice, that a far larger number of weapons were being illegally gathered and concealed by the Heimwehr, and that in fairness a similar confiscation ought to be carried out against the latter.

On Oct. 24 one of the two Commu-

nist members in the lower house of the Dutch Parliament, L. de Visser, was ejected on the ground that, after having disturbed order several times, he accused the Pope of fomenting war against Russia. The case is unprecedented in the history of the Dutch Parliament.

The Chamber decided to start building a new 5,250-ton cruiser with 6-inch guns for the defense of the East Indies, and a smaller ship for the maintenance of order in the Dutch islands in the Caribbean Sea.

ITALY, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

On Oct. 27, before the Fascist directorates of all Italy gathered in the Palazzo Venezia, Premier Mussolini delivered an important speech in which he set forth his policy in regard to foreign nations. His speeches last May at Leghorn, Florence and Milan, which had been received as declarations of war, he declared to have been only Italy's answer to those who for the last eight years had actually been waging war against her; they were intended, he said, simply to tear away the hypocritical mask of the other nations. Italy would never take the initiative in plunging the world into the horrors of war, but if war were to be avoided, the peace treaties would have to be revised. Italy's special interest, her expansion, lay toward the East, he said; but whatever might come Italy would remain true to her promises, and would defend her friends against the coalitions of anti-Fascism. He continued in these words:

Is not killing Fascists merely because they are Fascists an act of hostility? Is not defaming the Fascist régime and impairing its credit an act of war? What slander, however infamous, has been spared the Fascist régime? Is not what happened after the Trieste executions proof that war

By ELOISE ELLERY

*Professor of History,
Yassar College;
Current History Associate*

against the Fascist régime is already in full existence? For the present it is moral war, but it prepares for military war.

Slandorous inventions are an act of war. Soon we also shall have cut off the hands of children, as was said of the Germans in 1914. All this is to increase hatred of the Fascist régime, which is now preached by millions upon millions of individuals.

We are fighting against a world in decline, but which is still powerful because it represents an enormous crystallization of interests. Let Fascists take good heed that anti-Fascism is not yet dead.

A state of moral war against us already exists, but side by side with moral war preparations for material war are being hastened at our frontiers.

Then, waving a thick bunch of papers, Premier Mussolini went on:

Do you see this leaflet? It contains the day-by-day military preparations made against Italy for the last four years, long before my speeches at Leghorn, Florence and Milan. It is a list of the batteries placed in position, forts constructed, armaments ordered or delivered at our frontiers. Could I help sounding the alarm?

Naturally, those whose mask was torn off tried to invert the situation by representing Italy as the only wolf amid a bleating flock of peaceful lambs. But that trick is puerile. Italy arms relatively because others



THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES

arm. She will disarm when all disarm. * * *

Let it be clear that we are arming ourselves spiritually and materially in order to defend ourselves, not in order to attack. Fascist Italy will never take the initiative of war.

Even our policy of revision of the treaties—which is not new but was first advanced in 1928—aims at avoiding war. The revision of the peace treaties is not prevaillingly of Italian interest, but interests the whole world. Revision is not absurd or impossible, since the possibility of revision is contemplated in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The only absurd thing is to expect treaties to remain absolutely immobile.

Who violates the League of Nations Covenant? Those who at Geneva wish to perpetuate two kinds of nations—armed ones and defenseless ones. What juridical or moral equality can exist between armed and defenseless nations? * * *

As for Italy's policy on the Danube and in the East, it is dictated by reasons of life. We are trying to utilize the last square inch of our territory. What we are doing is gigantic. But soon our territory will be saturated by our growing population. We wish this and we are proud of this because life produces life.

By the year 1950 Italy will be the only country of young people in Europe, while the rest of Europe will be wrinkled and decrepit. People will come back from over the frontier to see the phenomenon of this blooming spring of the Italian people.

Only toward the East can our pacific expansion occur. This explains our friendships and our alliances. The

dilemma propounded at Florence still holds good: We shall go hard with our enemies and march side by side with our friends to the very end.

Our foreign policy is sincere, without evasion or mental reservations. A written agreement is sacred to us whatever may happen. Nor do we know of any other means whereby a people can increase its prestige and the confidence others have in it.

The longer our régime lasts the more the anti-Fascist coalition has recourse to expedients dictated by desperation. The struggle between the two worlds can permit no compromises. The new cycle which begins with the ninth year of the Fascist régime places the alternative in even greater relief—either we or they, either their ideas or ours, either our State or theirs!

The new cycle must be of greater harshness, not of greater indulgence. Whoever has interpreted it differently has fallen into a grave error of interpretation. This explains why their struggle has now become world-wide and why Fascismo has become the subject of debate in all countries, here feared, there hated, elsewhere ardently desired.

The phrase that Fascismo is not an article for exportation is not mine. It is too banal. * * * In any case it must now be amended. Today I affirm that the idea, doctrine and spirit of Fascismo are universal. Fascism is Italian in its particular institutions, but it is universal in spirit nor could it be otherwise, for spirit is universal by its very nature. It is therefore possible to foresee a Fascist Europe which will model its institutions on Fascist doctrine and practice, a Europe which will solve in the Fascist way the prob-

lems of the modern State of the twentieth century, a State very different from the States which existed before 1789, or which were formed afterward.

Italy is an immense legion which marches under the Fascist symbols toward a greater future. Nobody can stop her. Nobody will stop her.

That the new cycle would be "of greater harshness, not of greater indulgence," was borne out by the official announcement on Nov. 6 that during the last week in October about twenty Italians had been arrested, charged with anti-Fascist plotting. Fuller reports, not official, included among them Bartolo Belotti, Under-Secretary of the Treasury under Premier Nitti and legal adviser of the Banca Commerciale Italiana. It was reported that Signor Belotti and others prominent in educational and legal circles had been deported to one of Italy's prison islands. A rumor that Foreign Minister Grandi was to resign as the result of pressure from Fascist extremists was flatly denied.

Mussolini's pronouncement in favor of treaty revision, aligning Italy with such nations as Germany and Hungary and in opposition to such countries as France and Czechoslovakia aroused considerable comment in the European press. The stand, it was declared in France, put an end to any plans for Franco-Italian cooperation; a loan or credit to Italy "would be generally interpreted as simply designed to supply arms and munitions to a government which has declared its differences too openly even while protesting that it will never take the initiative in war." According to *Le Temps*, "Premier Mussolini seeks to show Italy's will for peace by showing her in favor of the policy of treaty revision. It is a strange conception to seek to remove all the menace of war in Europe by deliberately setting out on the road of revision of treaties whose maintenance is the foremost condition of safeguarding peace. To do so is to start a debate without possible issue on the

most dangerous of questions and to bring fuel to the fire on the pretext of trying to put it out."

The Hungarian papers, on the other hand, were jubilant, as was the German Nationalist press. Those, however, who represent the parties of the Left in Germany placed less faith in Mussolini's implied offer of help to Germany and scoffed at a naive belief that he had any real concern in her fate. Among the Balkan States rigid press censorship prevented free expression of opinion, but any proposed treaty revision, especially when coupled with the statement that Italy's expansion could only be toward the East, naturally caused consternation in Yugoslavia and Rumania.

Oct. 28, the day after Mussolini's provocative speech was the eighth anniversary of the Fascist March on Rome. Celebrations throughout Italy took the usual form of the inauguration of new public works, some two thousand of them representing an expenditure of more than \$100,000,000. In Rome the ceremonies also included the solemn initiation into the ranks of the Fascist militia of more than 10,000 wounded war veterans. The cooperation of the Church with the State in this ceremony was evidenced by the participation of one of the Cardinals who invoked the blessings of Heaven on "that band of strong and healthy youths who honor their country and must become the hope of our great Christian family and the whole Italian nation."

The undertaking of these public works was furthered by the recent appropriation by the Cabinet Council of \$7,000,000. Half this sum, it is stated, will be used for hydraulic works of various kinds and a considerable portion of the remainder for improving roads. It is expected to give employment to some 40,000 workers during the Winter months. This appropriation was made in spite of the fact that the State budget at the

end of the first three months showed a deficit of more than \$25,000,000. Experts declare, however, that the Italian budget is now on a sound basis and that experience shows that revenues have a tendency to increase toward the end of the fiscal year. Anti-Fascist critics abroad, however, persist in declaring that Italian finances are not on a sound basis.

The Cabinet Council also approved a series of penal measures against officers of joint stock companies guilty of dishonest practices, declared the anniversary of the founding of Fascism, March 23, a civil holiday, and ordered a general census.

On Oct. 15 all Italy celebrated the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of the poet Vergil. Special celebrations were held at Mantua, where he was born; Naples, where he lived and wrote, and Rome, where he enjoyed the protection of the Emperor Augustus.

An earthquake on Oct. 30 did damage amounting to \$15,000,000 over a wide area in Italy, centring about Ancona on the Adriatic Coast.

SPAIN'S VARIED TROUBLES

In Spain the past month was marked by the continuance of labor troubles, the fall followed by the rise of the peseta, and by the setting of a date for the Parliamentary elections. Strikes occurred at Malaga, Logroño, Vittoria, Cartagena, Murcia, Seville and Barcelona. Alleging that these strikes were led by Communists, extreme Republicans and Catalan Separatist agitators, the government instituted wholesale arrests. Although it claimed to have crushed the movement of revolt, confidence was not restored, and on Oct. 14 the peseta took another drop from 10.11 to 10.25 to the dollar and two days later went down again, this time to 10.50.

Meanwhile the government announced that elections for a new Parliament would be held and that the

date would be announced before the end of November. This will be the first nation-wide election since General Primo de Rivera suspended Parliamentary government when he became dictator in September, 1923. Moreover, an economic mission was sent abroad to confer with international banking groups to consider the return of Spain to the gold standard and the stabilizing of Spanish currency. The sub-governor of the Bank of Spain, who opposed the exporting of gold, was deposed, thus giving the régime control of the gold reserve.

On Oct. 18 the peseta made a sharp gain, exchange closing at 10 to the dollar, and on Oct. 30 it rose to 8.93, an evidence, it is claimed, of the increasing confidence in the ability of the government to handle the political and financial situation. Strikes continued, however, among the university students, notably in Seville, Granada, Madrid and Barcelona. These revolts were due, in part, it was asserted, to the fact that under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship professors championed the cause of the students against the government and thus furthered a lack of discipline. There is also among the students widespread discontent with what they feel are medieval and antiquated methods of university administration. Behind all the unrest is a strong spirit of republicanism.

Although the government dealt severely with actual revolt, it has permitted the holding of meetings by the republicans. At a recent gathering in Valencia it was reported that 35,000 persons were present. The various monarchist parties have also been active and were said to be planning an amalgamation of all their forces.

General Valeriano Weyler, the ranking Spanish officer, died on Oct. 20 at the age of 92. His name was connected with the stern measures in Cuba, which, in part, led to the Spanish-American War.

The Portuguese Government was re-

ported to have evidence of a far-reaching but abortive plot for the overthrow of the dictatorship. It was to be put into effect on Oct. 6 in conjunction with a republican uprising in

Spain, but owing to quarrels among the leaders and quick action on the part of the Portuguese Government, it was prevented from coming to a head.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

ALTHOUGH the Balkan area is by no means secure against disturbing influences from the outside, it is no longer a mere chess-board for the high game of politics as played by the great powers. On the contrary, there are indications that it is beginning to have some genuine community consciousness, with prospects of eventually living a measurably independent and self-contained political life. One evidence of such development is the conference of Balkan States which met in Athens early in October and which before adjournment on Oct. 12 approved a plan for a permanent league of Balkan States, endorsed a report recommending the linking up of Balkan highways to aid trade and tourist business, hoisted a new United Balkan flag, and on invitation of the Turks, agreed to reassemble later on at Istanbul (formerly Constantinople) to go on with its work. The meeting came to an end amid a chorus of approval from all except Italy, who fears that her dream of Balkan hegemony will be disturbed, and Czechoslovakia, who would not like to see her two partners of the Little Entente enter a fresh combination from which she was excluded.

A second, though less impressive, evidence is the International Agrarian Conference which came to an end at Bucharest on Oct. 21. The members of this gathering—Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia—were not exclusively Balkan States, but most of them were such, and the meeting was mainly a Balkan affair. The object of the conference

By **FREDERIC A. OGG**
*Professor of Political Science,
University of Wisconsin;
Current History Associate*

was to devise means by which the hard-pressed farming interests of the participating agrarian States can be re-

lieved, and, while farm relief comes no easier in Southeastern Europe than elsewhere, the issues were clarified and steps were taken to keep the discussions going until some sort of agreement could be reached. A Polish proposal for the creation of a permanent committee to meet annually and to preserve contact among the Central and Southeastern European States was adopted unanimously and the new body will hold its first session early in 1931. Meanwhile, the Bucharest conference was itself to be followed up with a similar gathering at Warsaw during November. Though the resolutions adopted at Bucharest emphasized obstacles rather than achievements, the conference may be regarded as representing a step on the way to that system of regional unions which furnishes the only feasible basis for the proposed Pan-Europa.

BULGARIAN MONARCH'S MARRIAGE

In a driving rain and hailstorm out-of-doors, but in a setting of mystic beauty within the great basilica of St. Francis at Assisi, Princess Giovanna of Savoy was married, on Oct. 25, to King Boris III, Bulgaria's "bachelor King." Announcement at Rome on Oct. 3 of the royal pair's engagement stirred considerable surprise, because, although long gossiped about, the alliance was understood to have been found impossible on ac-



Eastern Europe and the Balkans

count of religious differences. A way out was, however, found primarily through an article of the Bulgarian Constitution (Article XXXVIII) which, while requiring that the King shall be a communicant of the Greek Orthodox Church, is silent as to the Crown Prince, which, therefore (notwithstanding the traditional view of Bulgarian jurists that the Crown Prince must be baptized in the Greek church), would permit any child resulting from the proposed marriage to be brought up—at all events, until the moment of accession to the throne—in the Roman Catholic faith. On Oct. 15, after King Boris's arrival in Italy, it was announced that the necessary Vatican dispensation had been granted not only for the wedding itself but for holding the ceremony in the famous Assisi basilica.

Notwithstanding persistent denials that the match had any political significance, Bulgarians looked upon it as meaning that their hard beset country had at last found a friend; while observers generally viewed it as one more demonstration of Italy's well-known policy of organizing the "war losers" of Europe against the "war winners" and their powerful patron, France. The growth of Bulgaro-Italian friendship dates definite-

ly from the pact of Tirana in 1926, which gave Italy a foothold on the Adriatic coast and thereby rudely shattered the friendly relations which had existed between Italy and Yugoslavia since the Nettuno conventions of two years previously. Bulgaria was thenceforth drawn into Italy's orbit, where she has ever since remained. Italy has befriended her on numerous occasions, has openly supported her plea for a reduction of her reparation payment, and has raised her hopes of territorial recovery by open reminders that the peace treaties were not concluded for eternity. The marriage of Boris and Giovanna fits perfectly into the picture.

GREEK PREMIER'S VISIT TO TURKEY

The journey of Premier Venizelos in late October from Athens by way of Istanbul (Constantinople) to Ankara to visit the Turkish President, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and to be present with him at the signing of Greco-Turkish treaties of friendship and commerce was replete with the dramatic. It was barely ten years ago that the Greek statesman was engaged in the most ardent anti-Turkish propaganda among the world powers and was dreaming of capturing Constantinople and seizing most of Anatolia. Now he found himself the object of almost unparalleled popular enthusiasm wherever he went on Turkish soil, narrowly escaping injury, indeed, from overzealous admirers. The reason was simply that, having refused to allow rancor following the great debacle in Asia Minor in 1922 to warp his judgment or dim his far-sightedness, he had pursued so conciliatory a course as to win the friendship of all supporters of the new and reformed Turkish régime. Indeed, he is considered by some of his associates at home rather unnecessarily pro-Turkish.

The two complicated treaties were duly signed on Oct. 30. One a treaty

of friendship and neutrality, received the signatures of Premier Venizelos and Premier Ismet Pasha; the other, a treaty of commerce and navigation, was signed by Foreign Ministers Michalakopoulos and Tewfik Rushdi.

On Oct. 30 and 31 more than 200 army officers, along with the former dictator, General Pangalos, were arrested at Athens on a charge of organizing a coup d'état to overthrow the government.

Speaking to the Balkan journalists who reported the recent conference of Balkan states at Athens, Premier Venizelos asserted that the problems connected with the Bulgar minority in Greek Macedonia must be settled by degrees, that he was ready to grant the right to have their own schools, if and when the Bulgars asked for them, and also that he was prepared to allow Bulgaria to have the much-desired port on the coast of Western Thrace through which her traffic could find an outlet on the Aegean across Greek territory. A favorable impression is reported to have been created at Sofia, though the central committee of the Macedonian Political Organization of the United States and Canada promptly circulated a statement in which the pronouncements were declared to be only "a ruse of Greek diplomacy with the purpose of misleading the public opinion of the United States of America and of Europe."

HUNGARY'S AGRARIAN POLICY

A world wheat cartel, to include the United States and Canada, was proposed by Premier Bethlen in a Government party conference held at Budapest on Oct. 20, as one of three possible means of relieving the present agricultural depression. The other two plans suggested were the conclusion of regional agreements and the organization of a Continental agrarian bloc with preferential tariffs. The Premier also declared an agreement with the United States, Europe's

greatest competitor, an urgent necessity, and to that end he urged the holding of a world conference.

The effort of former Empress Zita to induce every member of the House of Habsburg to give a written declaration of loyalty to her son, Prince Otto, as head of the house has been only partially successful. It is understood that those living in Hungary have generally complied, while those sojourning in Poland have not. Of special significance is the fact that Archduke Frederick, father of Archduke Albrecht, who recently resigned his own claims to the throne, has refused.

POLISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The campaign scheduled to end in the general election of Nov. 16 continued throughout October on the curious lines on which it started during the previous month. Marshal Pilsudski's name at the head of the Government party ticket spoke eloquently for itself. Declaring himself ready to enter the detested Parliament and take a seat with the "cowards, scoundrels and idiots," he was understood to be prepared to make another attempt—perchance the last—to cooperate with that ill-fated body. Ranged against the Government list were the lists of two opposition groups—the democratic bloc of the Peasants' party and Socialist party and that of the so-called nationalist bloc. Neither bloc was particularly hopeful of capturing the Sejm, but both aspired to humiliate the Dictator by inflicting a moral defeat, which, in time, might contribute to the overthrow of the present dictatorial régime. With sixty-seven former Deputies in jail and hundreds of other party members already imprisoned or threatened with arrest, the Opposition forces were pretty well silenced; and, whether or not because of this fact, the Government party was also conducting a spiritless and drab campaign. Not even an alleged bomb plot against the Marshal put life into the contest.

Meanwhile, in mid-October, a military expedition sent to punish the Ukrainian peasantry of East Galicia produced in that region a reign of terror said not to have been equaled in Europe since the Lloyd George government sent the notorious "Blacks and Tans" into Ireland. Provocation was supplied by the alleged burning of Polish farm houses, barns, and crops by a Ukrainian secret organization which hopes to tear East Galicia from Polish rule and unite its 3,000,000 Ukrainian inhabitants with the Ukraine Soviet Republic in a greater Ukrainian State. According to press reports entire villages were overrun by the soldiery, innocent and guilty were made to suffer alike, and 200,000 people were thrown into jail, including sixteen of the twenty-six Representatives of the Ukrainian national party in the last Sejm. A pastoral letter drawn up by the Bishops of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Eastern Galicia and addressed to the people of the disturbed districts was confiscated by the prosecuting attorney in Lvov as being inflammatory. The letter condemned sabotage and terrorism, but also criticized the Warsaw government's method of handling the situation.

RUMANIA DISCONTENTED

The aftermath of the Cabinet crisis of Oct. 6 which upset the Maniu gov-

ernment and brought into office a new Ministry (not very different from the old one) under George Mironescu revealed that while the impossibility of bringing about a reconciliation between King Carol and former Queen Helen was a contributing factor, the real cause was the profound discontent of the nation on account of the prolonged and apparently hopeless economic depression. It would be futile to blame Julio Maniu for his failure to remedy the situation. As the experience of other countries—including our own—shows, no man and no government would have been equal to the task. The politically immature masses, however, do not see the relationship between economic cause and effect, and in times of trouble seek a scapegoat. It is hardly to be believed that the Mironescu government will escape a similar fate.

An extensive Soviet espionage organization in the Rumanian civil and military services was brought to light during October, and arrests ran into the hundreds. The secret police crossed the organization's trail more than a year ago, and quietly observed its activities until the time was deemed ripe to strike. Military and political secrets were being passed to confederates in Vienna, and thence to Moscow. Most of the spies were engineers, the leader, Gustave Metha, being a German of that profession.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

THE newly elected Finnish Parliament, which assembled on Oct. 20, reflected clearly the effects of the anti-Communist movement which had given uncommon zest to the electoral campaign and during the Summer months strongly colored the political life of the country. The seats were distributed as

By JOHN H. WUORINEN
Department of History,
Columbia University;
Current History Associate

follows: Social-Democrats, 66, a gain of 7; Agrarians, 59, a loss of 1; Coalition party, 42, a gain of 14; Progressives, 11, a gain of 4; and the Swede-Finn group, 21, a loss of 2. As in the case of the Norwegian elections, the Communists were completely excluded. The Centre and Right parties gained 16 seats, giving them



NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

134 out of a total of 200. The results of the election thus created the Parliamentary majority necessary for the anti-Communist bills which the last Legislature failed to pass.

Six days before the meeting of the National Legislature the news was flashed through the land that ex-President and Mrs. K. J. Stahlberg had been kidnapped. The mystery surrounding the disappearance of the distinguished—one might well say the first—citizen of the republic was soon solved when the missing couple was discovered in Joensuu, a small city in Eastern Finland, some sixty miles distant from the Russian border. The abductors apparently intended to take the ex-President and his wife to Russian territory and to release them there—a procedure which has been successfully attempted on more than one occasion during the past six months in the case of persons suspected of undue friendliness with the radical elements.

The press, irrespective of party affiliation, condemned the action and demanded a thorough investigation. The authorities arrested the abduc-

tors within a couple of days and confessions were obtained which pointed to Helsinki, the capital, as the source of the leadership responsible for the crime. M. Jaskari, Secretary of Suomen Lukko, a patriotic organization established to combat communism, was arrested, and on Oct. 22 Major Gen. Kurt M. Wallenius, Chief of Staff of the Finnish Army, was held as the person who had engineered the abduction. Other detentions followed. The leaders of the Lapua movement vigorously denied all share in the undertaking, and insisted that the deed had been perpetrated by irresponsible persons. On Oct. 18 they issued an appeal to the supporters of the Lapua movement, advising all responsible for lawless acts during the past few months to surrender to the police. Acting upon this appeal, 404 persons appeared in Helsinki on Oct. 20 and admitted participation in acts of violence for which the Lapua movement appears to be to blame.

Those who surrendered—especially the persons implicated in the Stahlberg incident—will be duly tried and punished, according to the declaration presented to Parliament by Premier Svinhufvud on Oct. 22. After calling attention to the complete tranquillity and order which prevailed during the election, he referred to the instances of violence connected with the anti-Communist movement as "reprehensible acts" whose perpetrators must be brought to justice. In view of the recent arrests, the Premier stated that "we have come to the point where this lawlessness can be adequately investigated and the officers of law and justice" can do their duty. "The government is confident that they will * * * succeed in eliminating the tendencies that disturb peace and order." The unusual amount of tried talent in the National Legislature—among its members are ex-President Stahlberg and ex-Premier Kallio, who now occupies the chair of the Speaker—gives it a degree of

weight and authority that few of its predecessors have attained.

NORWEGIAN GENERAL ELECTIONS

The Norwegian general elections on Oct. 20 turned largely on the question whether or not Norway was to succumb to increasing radicalism. Conspicuous headlines in the newspapers—"Vote Against Russia!"—exhorted the citizens to go to the polls. In the last analysis the contest involved the success or failure of the Labor party. This party, which has proclaimed as its goal the abolition of the capitalist system, by force if necessary, was opposed by the non-Socialist groups. The results showed that the Labor party had been challenged unsuccessfully. The Conservatives obtained 330,670 votes, against 240,000 in the last election. The corresponding figures for the Liberals were 31,000 and 14,440; for the Farmers' party, 188,090 and 149,200; for the Venstre, 233,370 and 172,560; for the Radical People's party, 19,380 and 13,460; for the Labor party, 364,870 and 368,100, and for the Communists, 22,090 and 40,070. The distribution of seats in the Storting will considerably relieve the position of Premier Mowinckel, whose government has been in office since the early part of 1928. The Conservatives won 41 seats, a gain of 11; the Liberals won 3, a gain of 2; the Venstre won 33, a gain of 3; the Farmers obtained 25, a loss of 1; the Laborites obtained 47, a loss of 13; and the Radical People's party, which has been unrepresented, won one seat. The Communists, who held three seats in the last Storting, were completely deprived of representation.

According to a statement issued by the United States State Department on Nov. 3, a treaty governing military service for persons of so-called dual nationality was signed between Norway and the United States in Oslo on Nov. 1. The State Department

pointed out that this is the first treaty to be concluded among several under negotiation with foreign countries. The principal article reads in part as follows: "A person born in the territory of one party, of parents who are nationals of the other * * * shall not, if he has his residence, that is, the place of his general abode, in the territory of the State of his birth, be held liable for military service or any other act of allegiance during a temporary stay in the territory of the other party. Provided that if such stay is protracted beyond the period of two years, it shall be presumed to be permanent in the absence of sufficient evidence showing that return to the territory of the other party will take place within a short time." (In this connection see the article, "Dual Citizenship an International Problem," on page 389 of this magazine.)

DANISH DISARMAMENT

After the Hitlerite victories in the German elections last September, Lauritz Rasmussen, Minister of Defense, insisted that the trends in the political life of Germany made Danish disarmament more of a necessity than ever. He returned to the charge on Oct. 9, when the disarmament bill was again introduced in the Folketing. It makes provision for a substantial reduction of land and naval armament and leaves Denmark with forces sufficient only for coast guard and patrol duty. The nature of the bill is perhaps most clearly suggested by the fact that it pares down the annual military budget from \$15,000,000 to \$5,000,000. Speaking for the Venstre, Mr. Hansen served notice upon the government that this group will oppose the contemplated budget reductions while Mr. Kraft, in presenting the Conservative stand in the matter, urged that the present defenses of the country should be maintained until an international disarmament conference succeeds in accomplishing the results

desired by those who place their faith in disarmament.

During the debate on Oct. 21, Premier Stauning maintained that the way to tax reduction is quite clearly indicated. A reduction in taxation can be accomplished, and the funds for the necessary social projects will be found, when the disarmament proposal is accepted. He also called attention once more to the unequivocal acceptance of the disarmament project by the electorate in the last elections, when the voters clearly showed that they preferred tax reduction to cannon.

Premier Stauning, referring to the aspirations for independence of the Faroe Islands, denied that he had made any commitments concerning a popular referendum. The question of a referendum, he stated, was brought forth only after his departure from the islands. He also said that in case the demand for a referendum is general, he would not oppose it, but added that this did not appear to be the case.

ESTONIAN PARLIAMENTARY PROBLEMS

The Fall session of the Estonian Parliament began on Oct. 6. Among the questions before the Legislature there were several which, from the point of view of the government, may be called critical: the contemplated revision of the constitution; revision of taxation; the utilization of the water-power resources of the Narva River; the grain monopoly; the continuation of increased customs duties on textiles and leather goods; the growing unemployment in the country; Estonia's attitude toward the Russian policy of dumping; and the problem of improving the agricultural situation. On all these questions the various parties, including the government bloc, are divided in a manner that spells trouble for Premier Strandmann and his colleagues.

The demand for revision of the Constitution comes mainly from the

Agrarians. They have been complaining for some time about the delay in the revision, especially since its speedy completion in the Riigikogu was one of the conditions upon which they entered the present government coalition. Premier Strandmann, fearful of splitting the government on the question, has postponed action. The situation is complicated by the so-called Fellin movement whose supporters urge revision.

LITHUANIAN FOREIGN RELATIONS

The semi-dictatorship that prevails in Lithuania has thrown a mantle of apparent peace and quiet over the internal political situation. Perhaps because of this, Lithuania's foreign policy appears more in evidence. The dominating problem in the field of foreign relations is the prolonged quarrel with Poland over the Vilna district, which dates from the famous Zeligowski coup some nine years ago and continues to prevent closer relations between Lithuania and Poland. Almost as important is the controversy with Germany concerning the administration of Memel. This was recently the subject of negotiations at Geneva between the Foreign Ministers of Germany and Lithuania. The three most important points discussed were the termination of the censorship within the Memel territory; the replacement of two Lithuanian members of the Memel directorate by two citizens of Memel, and permission for the electoral committee to prepare elections. Upon his return from Geneva, Dr. David Zaunius, the Lithuanian Foreign Minister, presented to his colleagues the agreement he had reached with Germany, and next day it was reported that he had resigned because of criticism. On Oct. 10 the Lithuanian Government received a communication from Sir Eric Drummond informing it of the German protest, filed in Geneva, against Lithuania's failure to carry out the agreement. President Smetona then

refused to accept the Foreign Minister's resignation and announced that the censorship hitherto enforced in

Memel had been discontinued and that the remainder of the agreement had been likewise carried out.

THE SOVIET UNION

THE recent outcry against the Soviet export trade has much wider implications than may be inferred from a reading of the current press comment. The problem has become a factor working toward a re-orientation of Soviet foreign policy, especially in so far as it relates to the European theatre. Its importance is somewhat obscured by the fact that the recent excitement has apparently subsided without producing concerted action against Soviet commerce or even individual action by any nation outside Europe.

In the United States the whole question is held in abeyance until the next meeting of Congress, at which time an effort will be made to enact an embargo against the principal Soviet products. Up to the present time the Treasury Department has resisted repeated appeals to establish an embargo through the use of its administrative authority under the tariff act of 1930. Canada has disclosed her opposition to the Soviet commercial policy in a report of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics which describes and condemns the dumping of Russian wheat; but since the actions complained of do not occur in the Dominion market they cannot be countered by Canadian law. The agrarian States of South America are vitally concerned in the matter, but their preoccupation with their own political problems and their lack of power to exert economic pressure upon the Soviet Union have prevented them from adopting any definite anti-Soviet policy.

It is in the markets of Europe that the immediate effect of the Soviet ex-

By EDGAR S. FURNISS
*Dean of the Graduate School,
Yale University;
Current History Associate*

port policy is felt, and here there are indications that a new line of policy against the Soviet Union is gaining headway. As noted last month, France has placed Russian imports under the control of a strict licensing system. On Oct. 25 Belgium followed the lead of France by instituting a similar policy. Regional conferences in Scandinavia, Central Europe and the Balkans have adopted resolutions which prepare the way for a general economic alliance of Western Europe against the Soviet Union. The movement finds its leadership in France, where it is promoted by aggressive propaganda through the press and has the support of many men of high position in public life. In addition to a general boycott of Russian trade, the movement contemplates a financial boycott which would destroy the Soviet short term credit in the European money markets.

Russia has taken steps to meet the immediate situation by decreeing a policy of economic retaliation against countries which restrict the importation of Soviet products. But this is merely an expedient to deal with the superficial aspects of the problem. The Soviet leaders are convinced that the real basis of the antagonism toward Russia is political, not economic; and that it is all attributable to the desire of France to create a European bloc under her hegemony, pivoted upon the present Franco-Little Entente alliance, and directed toward the weakening of Germany and the neutralization of Russia's influence in Europe. The small States of Eastern Europe which, as Russia's nearest neighbors and the possessors of territory for-

merly hers, are most apprehensive over the growing power of the Soviet Union, are already knit together by a series of treaty alliances, and bound severally to France by a similar set of treaties. Their uneasiness is increased by the menace of communism within their own borders which, though at present suppressed, was once strong enough to seize control of many of the governments and is now smoldering underground. They stand as a buffer between Russia and Germany, where a public opinion embracing all types of political groupings demands a relocation of the nation's frontiers to the detriment of certain of these small States; and a strong Communist faction is working toward future adherence of Germany to the Soviet Union. In this setting there exists a community of interest between the States of Eastern Europe and France, of which the present treaty relations are the natural expression. The dumping tactics of the Soviet Union, in themselves a serious menace to the small States struggling to construct a stable national economy, furnish a convenient pretext for organizing the general uneasiness and distrust into an alliance openly antagonistic to the growth of the Soviet power in Europe. Such, at any rate, is the interpretation placed by the Soviet Government on the development of the past two months in her foreign commercial relationships. The official Soviet press has dealt with the boycott movement in this light, repeatedly warning the Russian people that the proposed financial and trade policies of France and her allies are but the prelude to another holy war against the Soviet Union.

A belief such as this need have no basis in fact in order to exert a powerful influence upon international relationships, provided it is made the basis of foreign policy by the country holding it. The situation as Russia sees it calls for the cultivation of more cordial relations with those sections of Europe which are opposed to French

hegemony. Italy, in particular, has been disposed recently to make use of Russia in her efforts to check the dominance of France. In her answer last Spring to Briand's proposal of a Pan-European Federation, Italy adopted as her own the policies with regard to disarmament, the reconstruction of the League of Nations, and the revision of the peace treaties which Russia has been insisting upon for many years. To any one who understands the irreconcilable conflict of principle between the Fascist and the Communist movements and the contempt in which their respective leaders hold each other, the idea of an alliance between Italy and Russia may seem fantastic. But the Bolsheviks are realists in foreign affairs who have repeatedly shown their readiness to turn an existing situation to their own account without regard for matters of principle. Recent events, running back to the Italian-Soviet trade agreement of last Summer indicate the beginnings of a rapprochement between these two countries. France suspects that this agreement contains secret clauses of a military nature inimical to her interests, and though this opinion is probably false, it provides additional incentive to French political strategy in Europe which in turn reacts to strengthen the feeling of mutual interest between Italy and the Soviet Union. Russian grain displaced from other European markets is being transferred to Italy, where it finds a welcome. Russian purchases, likewise, have been shifted from France to Italy; and recently the press of both countries have made much of the fact that important branches of Soviet industry have been placed under the direction of Italian technicians. In the press comment and the speeches of public officials of the Soviet Union, during the past month, Italian affairs have been treated with a friendliness which is both new and suggestive.

Turkey is another potential member of a European bloc opposed to France

and the perpetuation of the peace treaties. Relations between Turkey and Italy have been badly strained. At one time Italy made no secret of her ambition to acquire Turkish territory on the Mediterranean littoral of Asia Minor, and she is now basing her naval concentration upon the Island of Rhodes. Turkey views this with distrust and fear. Yet, despite these causes of friction, there exists a solid basis of mutual interest between Italy and Turkey, both on account of their common opposition to the peace treaties and because Turkey's cooperation is necessary to assure uninterrupted commerce between Italy and Russia, in case Italy becomes involved in conflict with France and her allies. The strategic position of the Soviet Union as a friend of both countries and a mediator between them is clear on the face of this situation. The recent diplomatic exchanges between Turkey and the Soviet Union are significant from this point of view. At the end of September Tewfik Rushdi Bey, Foreign Minister of the Ankara Government, visited Moscow for the purpose of effecting the continuance of the treaty of friendship between the two countries. He was received with a splendor of ceremonial and a public demonstration of esteem beyond parallel in Soviet history. Upon his departure on Oct. 3 the Soviet Foreign Office made public professions of friendship for Turkey which would have been excessive in ordinary circumstances.

Of similar import is the naval demonstration which the Soviet Union has been making in the ports of the Eastern Mediterranean. The fact that Russian warships have not passed the Dardanelles since 1878 lends historical significance to the present occasion. Early in October a unit of the Soviet Black Sea fleet made the passage to the Mediterranean for a fortnight's cruise of Turkish, Greek and Italian ports. The visit to the Piraeus was marred by the clamor of Russian refugees which was suppressed with

some difficulty by the Greek constabulary. But on the whole the Soviet flotilla was accorded cordial receptions by the governing authorities; while in Russia, comment on the cruise in the inspired press made clear its relation to the developing foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

No doubt the events which we have sketched provide but meagre evidence upon which to base an appraisal of Soviet purposes in European politics. To lend substance to the belief that Russia is committing her future to an anti-French bloc of European states, the group of Soviet allies should include Germany. It is true that there has been a marked improvement in the relations of Germany with the Soviet Union in the immediate past. A year ago these two States seemed on the verge of a break. Since that time they have so far composed their differences as to permit a revival of the generous trade agreement between them. The mixed commission which attempted early in the present year to work out a closer economic integration between Russian and German industry, although failing in its major objective, has done much to improve the temper of the situation. But it would be a gross exaggeration of the facts to infer that the two countries are within measurable distance of a political alliance. The Soviet leaders dismiss the idea with open derision; and the German Nationalists are equally outspoken in their opposition to it. Still it cannot be denied that forces of major importance are at work in both countries to reduce the causes of friction between them and to extend the sector of foreign policy in which their interests coincide. Already Germany sees eye to eye with Russia on all the issues of vital consequence to the Reich—disarmament, the Pan-European Federation, reparations, the Versailles Treaty. In the recent German elections the platforms of the Communists and the Nationalists were identical with regard to these major issues.

Allowing for all uncertainties, and

discounting the disposition of France to exaggerate the situation under the stress of fear, it is obvious to the foreign observer that conditions in Europe are propitious for the formation of an anti-French bloc along these lines. Obvious also is Russia's strategic position in the general situation. Thus far the Soviet Union has stood for peace and against all military alliances. But her foreign trade is vital

to her at the present moment. It is a matter of self-preservation, in view of her domestic program, that the markets of the world be open to her export products and the banking institutions of Europe and America be accessible to her commercial agencies. The boycott movement in this setting may prove the determining factor in Russia's European political affiliations.

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

TURKEY, politically, is still endeavoring to become accustomed to the existence of two

parties, the Republican and the Liberal Republican. The Liberal Republican, led by Ali Fethi Bey, is a new element in Turkish politics, and so far functions as a party of criticism. This opposition exists with the permission of President Mustafa Kemal who wrote recently to Fethi Bey: "From my youth up I have loved the system by which in the Grand National Assembly and in the face of all nations there should exist liberty of discussion in regard to national affairs; the men and the parties who are animated by noble intentions should be able to work together and to seek the national interest."

Fethi Bey's new party is founded on the principles of republicanism, nationalism and secularism. The platform demands that all personal rights guaranteed by the constitution be made valid. Taxes should be levied so as not to go beyond the resources of the people and public works carried on with the utmost economy. The stabilization of money and the encouragement of individual initiative in finance and business are other planks of the Liberal Republicans. While the country's population must be saved from exploitation, national industry

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

*Professor of History,
University of Illinois;
Current History Associate*

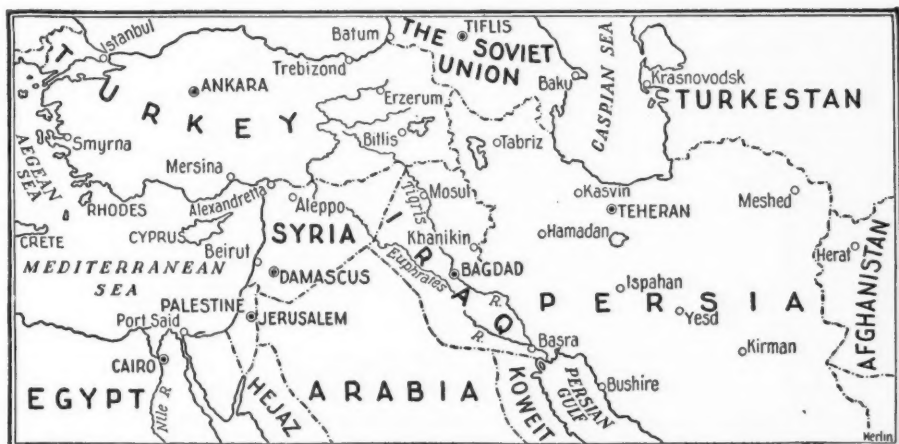
should be developed. The party promises to handle governmental corruption and abuses without pity and to ex-

pedite court administration. Foreign affairs would be conducted with the greatest of friendliness and in strict collaboration with the League of Nations. Direct elections and the enfranchisement of women are also advocated.

The Turkish Cabinet as reconstructed on Sept. 27, contained six members of the former Cabinet with four newcomers. Ismet Pasha continues in the post of Prime Minister.

The recent municipal elections were held under a new law, adopted by the government in the Spring of 1930. The local administration is allowed greatly increased powers, but the Turkish press pointed out that although Turkey has obtained a very modern type of law, the people have yet to learn the duties and responsibilities which it imposes.

The elections yielded, as was to be expected, a decided victory for Ismet Pasha's party, but the new party obtained about 25 per cent of the votes. The elections were accompanied by considerable violence and detachments of soldiers and police guarded the polling places. Various foreign methods were introduced, including extensive oratory, house-to-house canvasses and the use of automobiles.



THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

The Grand National Assembly was opened regularly on Nov. 1 when President Mustapha Kemal Pasha made an important address before a crowded house. The expectation that he would make a positive pronouncement on the New Liberal Republican party was not fulfilled but he recommended to the members of the two parties that they urge their followers to abstain from such disorders as characterized the recent municipal elections, and that they admit no member who has not the true interests of the Republic at heart. The President reviewed the year's events and congratulated the army and the gendarmerie on their valor in quelling the Kurdish revolt and rendering assistance to flood victims at Smyrna. The President also emphasized the strengthening of friendship with Russia in connection with the recent visit of the Turkish foreign minister to Moscow, and with Greece because of the new treaty signed by M. Venizelos at Ankara. He urged the press to make proper use of the increased liberty accorded to it.

In the middle of October the Hoyboon, or Kurdish Independence League, announced that the Kurdish troops had caused losses to the Turks up to Sept. 1 of more than 40,000 men. Because of the approach of Winter, the

Kurds have withdrawn from certain positions near Mount Ararat, but, according to the Hoyboon, they intend to resume the struggle next Spring. It was stated also that the Turks had deported 100,000 Kurds. Turkish authorities replied that their losses had been very much less than this; that they met with no serious reverse, and were not compelled to call up the reserves, and that the number of Kurds deported was greatly exaggerated.

Ismet Pasha, in a recent speech at Sivas, emphasized the great importance of railroads for national unity, defense, politics and independence. Turkey in 1920 possessed 2,500 miles of railroad, all owned by foreigners, built in a period of sixty years. Since 1920 the Turkish Government has built 1,125 miles, all government owned. After the treaty of Lausanne Europe hoped to obtain full control of Turkey through foreign loans, a policy which had been followed by her Sultans; the Turkish Government could not have negotiated a loan in Europe and maintained its independence. The Prime Minister stated that in his first year the villagers paid 40 per cent in taxes toward a budget of 100,000,000 Turkish pounds. Now they pay only 11 per cent of a budget of 225,000,000 Turkish pounds.

The imports of Turkey for the first

six months of 1930 show a decline of one-third below those of 1926, with a value of less than \$30,000,000. Exports were only \$1,000,000 more than this, representing a decline of about 20 per cent. If there is any cheering feature in these figures, it is that the trade balance is favorable for the first time in many years. This position, however, may be only temporary, since an abnormal amount of goods was imported before the imposition of new tariff rates a year ago.

EGYPT'S NEW CONSTITUTION

After much preliminary discussion and an abundant crop of rumors, a new Constitution and a new electoral law were proclaimed in Egypt on Oct. 23, with a minimum of objection and disorder. Egypt is declared a sovereign State, free and independent; the throne is hereditary in the descendants of Mohammed Ali. The Senate will consist of 100 members of whom sixty will be appointed by the King; the Chamber of Deputies will consist of 150 elected members. Elections are to be indirect and universal suffrage exists only in the first stage. Deputies must be 30 years of age and Senators 40. Parliamentary sessions will last five months; the King may dissolve Parliament and suspend sessions, but Parliament will have the last word in legislation. Islam is the religion of the State. The principal changes involved are the reduction of the number of Senators, giving a preponderance of appointed members, the reduction in the Chamber of Deputies from 230, the greatly increased power of the King over Parliament, and indirect elections. Ostensibly these changes are to adapt representative government to present conditions, but actually it is an attempt to bar from power the party which has regularly commanded the support of an overwhelming majority of the voters in Egypt. The King and Prime Minister Sidky Pasha believe that power is in their hands to alter the Constitution

and the fundamental laws without reference to the people or their elected representatives; whether it will be submitted to in Egypt remains to be seen.

Nahas Pasha, President of the Wafd and recently Prime Minister, on Oct. 16, attacked the proposed changes as unconstitutional, saying that "to amend the Constitution it is necessary to have the vote of a majority of the members of both Chambers and the sanction of the King." The Liberal Constitutional party, at whose head is Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, formerly Prime Minister, and to which Sidky Pasha nominally belongs, reached the firm decision that it could not support Sidky in his alterations of the Constitution.

The people of Egypt, however, accepted the announcements with no attempt at violence. While the leaders of Wafd and the Liberal Constitutional parties are in complete agreement to oppose by all peaceful means the modification of the Constitution and laws, they are far from being on good terms with each other, since the Wafd leaders do not forget that Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha played in 1928 a rôle of extra-constitutional dictator similar to that now played by Sidky Pasha.

THE ETHIOPIAN CORONATION

The coronation of Tafari Makonen as Emperor or King of Kings (Negus Negusti), under the name Haile Selassie I, took place at Addis Abeba on Nov. 2. Envoys and correspondents from many lands gathered to observe the splendid and costly ceremonies. The new Emperor is believed in Ethiopia to be descended directly from Solomon, King of the Jews, and the Queen of Sheba. Tafari first became prominent as a Prince who, in September, 1916, led a rebellion against the grandson of the deceased King Menelik. This resulted in placing Menelik's daughter, Zauditu, or Judith, on the throne as

Empress, with Tafari as Regent and heir to the throne. The young Prince was not contented merely with preparing the way for his ultimate accession, but he strove cautiously yet steadily to modernize his country.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN PALESTINE

Christian politicians joined Jewish leaders in the general protest against the British Government's new Palestine policy (See pages 385-388 of this magazine.) General Smuts, former Premier of South Africa and one of the founders of the system of mandates, expressed doubt whether the British Government was within its treaty rights in abandoning a policy sanctioned by other powers when Palestine was proclaimed a homeland for the Jews. Premier MacDonald in defense of Lord Passfield, his colleague at the Colonial Office who had drawn up the declaration of policy, asserted that the new policy adhered strictly to the letter and to the spirit of the mandate and was merely an attempt to do equal justice to Arab and Jew. Lord Passfield made his first detailed defense on Nov. 5, two weeks after the publication of the White Paper. He declared that the new policy was in no way inconsistent with the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. Speaking of Jewish immigration in particular, he said: "The intention of the White Paper, which I should have thought was clear, was to make the possibility of the suspension of Jewish immigration contingent upon unemployment on such a scale as would have a serious effect in preventing the Arab population from obtaining the work necessary for its maintenance. There was, of course, no intention of suggesting that immigration must be suspended as long as 'any Arab' remained without employment."

Popular opinion in England agrees, apparently, with the government's position, on the ground that if the

Arabs are placated, British taxpayers will not be obliged to maintain large military forces in the country. But the Jews of Palestine have been taking the new declaration seriously, and the British Government finds no defenders among them. Zionist leaders have been for some time acquainted with the chief points in Sir John Simpson's report. They consider the government's conclusions to differ materially from it.

For the first time in several years, Nov. 2, the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, was not observed in Palestine, either as a day of rejoicing by the Jews or as a day of mourning by the Arabs. The police authorities had forbidden the use of flags, banners and pennants, but their special provisions for keeping order were hardly necessary.

The Zionist Organization of America sponsored a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden at New York on the anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. It was estimated that 25,000 persons attended and that 15,000 were turned away from the doors.

KURDS' DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Kurds of Northern Iraq, or Southern Kurdistan, prepared at Suliamaniyeh, on Aug. 31, a petition which they sent to the League of Nations. The introduction referred to recent events, and in particular to the omission of reference to the rights of the Kurds in the draft treaty between Iraq and Great Britain. They claim to have seen "a vast change in the conduct of the British Government and a considerable leaning toward the Arab side, to the great detriment of the Kurdish people." They then state their belief that they have the right and the ability to form an independent State for the following reasons: (1) They have more than a million inhabitants, which is a larger number than that of the Sunnite Arabs who con-

stitute the core of the kingdom, and is more homogeneous than any other group in the kingdom; (2) they form "a compact whole, complete and true in all aspects, to wit, language, religion, culture, manners and traditions and even climate"; (3) the natural products of their soil can sustain them and allow a margin for export. These include grain, petroleum, wood, coal, fruit and domestic animals; (4) favorable physical features include several large and numerous small water courses, a temperate

mountain climate and other features comparable to those of Switzerland; (5) the Kurdish people is eminently aware of its strength and of its destiny. It has fought fiercely and sacrificed enormously for its liberty. "It has sworn to obtain its independence at any cost." Accordingly the Kurds desire to form an independent State on an absolutely democratic basis and they request the League of Nations to nominate for them a mandatory power, either Great Britain or some other.

THE FAR EAST

THE "consolidation" of peace was the principal business of the National Government of China during October. The first step in the process was the crushing of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang, who failed to receive support in his Honan campaign from the dispossessed "Chairman of the National Government of the North," Governor Yen Hsi-shan, and was compelled to surrender Chengchow, Lanfeng and Kaifeng early in the month. Certain of Feng's subordinate Generals and large sections of his army transferred allegiance to the central government at Nanking. President Chiang Kai-shek offered amnesty to all political offenders except Yen Hsi-shan, the Southern general Chen Chiung-ming and the Communists, thus leaving a way open to Marshal Feng to return to the fold. It was rumored that his return, on a cash basis, was a possibility. Temporarily Feng established headquarters at Hsiaoichien on the north bank of the Yellow River. A second rumor reported that in view of the poverty of Shensi, Feng's usual refuge when defeated, Governor Yen had offered to quarter him and his troops in Southern Shansi.

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY
*Professor of Political Science,
University of Minnesota;
Current History Associate*

A cash payment of 10,000,000 silver dollars (approximately worth \$3,000,000 gold today) to finance the occupation of Peiping and Tientsin was reported to have been made by the National Government to Chang Hsueh-liang, the "Young Marshal" from Manchuria. That was a cheap method of ousting the rival "Government of the North" if it has not resulted in creating a still stronger though less ambitiously titled rival permanently in North China south of the Great Wall. Marshal Chang also received and accepted the title of vice commander of the army and navy of the National Government. He issued statements of good intentions calculated to allay fears of a new civil war when pleasanter fighting weather returns, but his announced plans for sending four to six divisions through the Wall and of making Peiping rather than Mukden his permanent headquarters caused much uneasiness.

Considerable interest attached to the report from Shanghai on Nov. 7 that Chang Hsueh-liang intended to arrive at Nanking on Nov. 12 for the purpose of attending the plenary session of the central executive committee and of meeting President Chiang Kai-shek with a view to reaching an

understanding for the prevention of civil war. These two men are at present China's most powerful military leaders, and they both realize that the nation's credit is pledged to the hilt, that the customs surplus is exhausted and that new borrowings for further military operations would mean national bankruptcy and the likelihood of the spread of communism.

President Chiang Kai-shek took the occasion of victory and the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the republic on Oct. 10 to announce his government's plans for further progress along political and economic lines: (1) Eradication of communism and banditry; (2) rehabilitation of national finance and enforcement of honesty in handling funds; (3) evolution of a clean and efficient government through the eradication of lethargy and corruption; (4) economic development, involving an effort to obtain foreign capital on honorable terms; (5) en-

forcement of district autonomy and adequate provision for schools. In order to develop methods of executing these plans the central executive committee was convened for early November. The committee was expected to convoke the fourth Kuomintang (National party) Congress to draft a constitution.

In dark contrast with the rejoicings at Nanking was the declaration of John Earl Baker, American, director of the relief operations of the China International Famine Relief Commission, that 600,000 people would die of starvation in Shensi province before Spring unless help is received.

President Chiang was baptized as a member of the Methodist Church by a Chinese pastor in Shanghai. His wife, Mei Ling Soong, is a Christian.

Division of opinion within the Nanking junta was reported, with Chiang and T. V. Soong, Finance Minister, opposing Hu Han-min, chairman of the legislative board (yuan), the



THE FAR EAST

former desiring, the latter opposing liberalization of the government and promulgation of a constitution. Soong again tendered his resignation, declaring his refusal to remain responsible for financing the government unless he were given complete control of expenditures. Soong's extraordinary success in his key post has made him invaluable to the government which was expected to meet his terms in order to retain him in office.

Partial proof of Soong's financial abilities is seen in the success of his loan policy. Since May, 1927, says E. Kann in the Oct. 9 issue of the *China Critic*, the National Government has issued 512,000,000 Mexican dollars' worth of domestic bonds. "A fair portion of these issues has been redeemed already, and there has not been a single instance of failure, either with regard to the scheduled repayment of principal or as concerns interest coupons due." A further issue of 30,000,000 on Oct. 7 raised the total to 542,000,000 (Mex.). This amount is exclusive of provincial and municipal issues and of loans outside Nationalist-controlled territory. The figures are also an indication of the possibilities latent within China for the financing of constructive enterprises.

A general campaign began in November to wipe out the bandit and "communist" armies in South Central China; 100,000 troops with airplanes and gunboats were sent to Hunan and Kiangsi. The interest of Manchuria in the smashing of Communist influence in China was believed to be a large factor in deciding the "Young Marshal's" descent into Chihli (Hopei). Great Britain and Japan decided not to close their consulates at Changsha, Hunan province, but to keep gunboats off the city throughout the Winter. The Rev. Bert Nelson of Minneapolis was kidnapped from the Lutheran mission at Kwangshan, Southeastern Honan, and held for a large ransom. The failure of missionaries to heed warnings of the Department of State was involving them, their government

and the Chinese Government in consequences of increasing seriousness.

Firing on foreign naval craft on the Yangtse River continued at intervals. The British flagship Bee and the gunboat Teal were attacked on Oct. 15 and American merchant shipping on the same and following days in the vicinity of Hankow. Two Chinese passengers were killed on an American ship, but the vessel escaped capture.

Attacks, captures and looting of towns and cities in Kiangsi, Hunan, Honan and Fukien indicated that the disorderly conditions were widespread and would be extremely difficult to quell. Loshan, in Honan province, was captured by irregulars, who carried away two American missionaries, Miss Bergliot Evenson, Lutheran, of Seattle, later released when a ransom of \$3,000 was paid, and the Rev. K. N. Tvedt. The capture of Kian in Kiangsi province resulted in the carrying away of four foreign priests and six nuns, one of the latter a Filipino. Two Chinese priests lost their lives at Kian. A veritable massacre occurred at Kian, the number killed being estimated at from 2,000 to 8,000. Five American missionaries reached Foochow safely from the interior of Fukien. Mr. Lockhart, American Consul at Hankow, reported that twenty-one foreigners, including French, British, Italians, Norwegians, Spaniards and Americans, were in the hands of Communists in the Hankow consular district. Kanchow, Southern Kiangsi, was reported in Communist hands, but Bishop O'Shea and other foreigners there were understood to be safe.

BRITISH BOXER INDEMNITY AGREEMENT

Sir Miles Lampson, British Minister to China, and Dr. C. T. Wang, Chinese Foreign Minister, exchanged notes on Sept. 19 and 22 by which it was agreed that all payments of the British share of the Boxer indemnity would be returned as from Dec. 1, 1922. The agreement is subject to necessary

legislation by the British Parliament. The remitted funds were to be used to create an endowment for educational purposes through investment in rehabilitating and building railways in China and in other productive enterprises. They were to be repaid into the educational endowment fund by the enterprises for which the money was lent. The Chinese Government agreed to purchase materials used in connection with the expenditure of the funds in the United Kingdom.

EXTRATERRITORIALITY NEGOTIATIONS

The Department of State announced on Sept. 18 that draft proposals for an agreement for the gradual abolition of American extraterritorial privileges were ready for discussion. Negotiations were conducted in October between Secretary Stimson and Chinese Minister C. C. Wu in Washington and between Foreign Minister Wang and Sir Miles Lampson in Nanking. Dr. Wang declared that the report of a projected conference on this matter between China, Great Britain and the United States was groundless. The British Government was reported by the *China Critic* of Oct. 2, 1930, as agreeable to the surrender of jurisdiction in civil cases immediately, except in the principal ports, and to giving up criminal jurisdiction after five years.

THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY

Negotiations at Moscow between Mo Teh-hui, Chinese representative, and the Soviet Foreign Office, for the settlement of outstanding questions, appeared to have broken down. The National Government from the beginning had declined to recognize the Khabarovsk protocol of December, 1929, for joint management of the Chinese Eastern Railway, while the Soviet Ministry has refused to negotiate except on the basis of that agreement entered into between its

representative and the government of Chang Hsueh-liang. Now that the National Government has come successfully through the revolt against its authority, there is no hope of a change in its attitude. The resulting impasse was attended with a renewal of armed demonstrations on both sides of the boundary between Siberia and Manchuria.

Rumors were so definite as to justify partial respect for reports that discussions have been in progress for some months looking toward the acquisition by American interests of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which is the principal source of difficulty in Soviet-Chinese relations. The American interests were said to have insisted that the Soviet buy up the 60 per cent interest of the Russo-Asiatic Bank in the stock of the railway prior to transfer. French lenders would thereby recoup themselves in part for the losses sustained in the repudiation of Russian debts. Japanese newspapers commented unfavorably, while expressing a very skeptical attitude as to the reliability of the rumors.

REVOLT IN FORMOSA

A massacre which recalled earlier revolts against Japanese rule occurred at Musha, province of Taichu, Formosa, on Oct. 27. Musha is a village near that half of Formosa (Taiwan) which never has been reduced to administrative areas, although the population is only 85,000 out of a total of 4,500,000 for the whole island. The people are of Malay stock and have never been subdued by the rulers of the island. Their villages, numbering some 700, are located in jungle and mountainous territory that is extremely difficult to conquer. The Japanese Government from time to time has been able to reduce the extent of this uncivilized region by absorption of frontier districts into the regularly governed prefectures, but this process is extremely slow. A cordon of forts, joined together by

electrified wire, hems in the aborigines, who, resenting the rulers' methods of coercion, have from time to time revolted. Between 1920 and 1927 nearly 7,000 Japanese and Chinese (the latter numbering 4,000,000 of Formosa's population), were killed by the natives, who were formerly known as head-hunters.

The latest revolt was carried out by several hundred tribesmen who overwhelmed the police, seized their arms and attacked the Japanese living in the village, slaughtering 86, including 23 women and 39 children. Fifty-seven survivors saved themselves by hiding in buildings or in the forest. The attackers carried off the heads of their victims. The immediate occasion of the attack was believed to be a project of the Taiwan Electric Company to erect a dam which would flood the land occupied by the revolting tribesmen.

The desperation of the natives was revealed three days later, when they attacked a police expedition and killed two officers. It was feared that other bands might have attacked outposts along the cordon north and south of Musha. A force of 2,000 infantry and police, aided by airplanes, was fighting jungle and rocky terrain in a hopeless effort to overtake the natives. It was reported that 108 native women, all there were, in the village of Mahebo, committed suicide to leave their men free to fight the troops. Many villages were burned by their own occupants. At Mahebo a battle raged for four hours between the natives and the Japanese forces.

A Tokyo dispatch of Nov. 9 stated that the Japanese troops that had been sent to fight the aborigines in the Musha district would soon be withdrawn, the Japanese Government having decided not to pursue hostilities further. The report added that the savages had been driven to the hills and were hiding in the forests. Troops were to be kept at Musha and other villages until peace was completely restored in the region. It was

hoped to be able to withdraw the entire force by Nov. 20 and leave the district in charge of reinforced police detachments.

While the cause of the uprising had not been officially determined, the latest reports blamed graft by minor police officials in the distribution of wages to savage laborers. This was said to be the main grievance that led to the revolt. According to a policeman who was a survivor of the Musha massacre, police officials were alleged to have recruited savages for road building and carrying lumber at a fraction of the wage paid to regular native laborers, the police officials pocketing the difference. Complaints were ignored and the revolt came as a protest. Indications of approaching trouble were apparent in the latter part of September when the tribesmen withdrew their deposits from local banks and bought quantities of food, which they carried off to the hills. It was believed that these supplies would have enabled the natives to hold out a long time if hostilities had been continued.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF JAPAN

The annual conference of prefectural Governors at Tokyo on Oct. 10 was addressed by Premier Hamaguchi, Home Minister Adachi and Finance Minister Inoue, who outlined the government's plans for the immediate future. The Premier declared that the money saved by the London naval treaty would be used to replenish the navy and to reduce taxes. He emphasized the willingness of the government to relieve unemployment, suggesting that loans would be advanced to localities at low rates to finance relief measures. Mr. Adachi dealt with the necessity of encouraging the people to patriotic endurance of a temporary period of hard times, preventing labor troubles and restricting the activities of agitators of the opposing political parties. Mr. Inoue announced the continued adherence

of the government to the policy of free export of gold, under which a loss of 260,000,000 yen had been sustained in 1930 by exports of gold. He stated that the country's foreign trade up to the end of September had declined by 1,050,000,000 yen below that of the same period of 1929. He saw no reason for discouragement in these figures in view of the general world depression.

The Social Bureau of the Home Office issued statistics showing that an average of 500 people had committed suicide in Japan during each month of 1930. The major cause was believed to be the lack of employment.

The government withdrew the appointment of Torikichi Obata as Minister to China. He was opposed at Nanking because of his part in the imposition of the twenty-one demands of 1915. Appointment of another representative was deferred.

JAPAN'S NEW FIGHTING SHIPS

The Maya, next to the last of the 10,000-ton cruisers Japan may build within the limitations of the London naval treaty, was launched on Nov. 8 at the Kawasaki dockyard. The Chokai, being built at Nagasaki, is the one vessel unlaunched of the twelve making up the 108,000 tons of first-class cruisers permitted Japan by the London agreement. Eight of these twelve ships are in commission. Four are of 7,100 tons each, the Furutaka, Aoba, Kako and Kinukasa, and four are of 10,000 tons each, the Nachi, Myoko, Huguro and Ashigara. The ninth and tenth cruisers are to be completed in 1931. They are the Takao, launched at Yokosuka on May 12, and the Atago, which took to the water at the Kure naval base on June 16.

The Maya and Chokai were laid down in 1928 and should be commissioned in 1932. The addition of the Takao and Atago to the fleet next year and of the Maya and Chokai in 1932 will insure until 1933 the lead

Japan holds over the United States in big cruisers. In 1933-34, when five new American cruisers should be completed, something like equality between the two cruiser strengths will be reached.

Another swift new fighting ship of the Mikado's navy took to the water on Nov. 8 at the Sasebo naval base. The 1,700-ton 34-knot destroyer Osoboro, which translated means "dim moonlight," is the eighteenth ship of its type built for the Japanese Navy. Six more ships of this type are in less advanced stages of construction.

On Nov. 7 the Akebono, another 1,700-ton destroyer, slid down the ways at the Fujinagata shipyard at Osaka.

JAPANESE NAVAL BUDGET

The long dispute between the Japanese Government and the naval authorities over the naval budget, which was carried on simultaneously with the fight over ratification of the London naval treaty and continued subsequently to be a bone of contention, was at last resolved on Nov. 10, when an agreement was reached on a program calling for an expenditure of 373,000,000 yen [\$186,000,000] over a period of six years. The sum agreed upon between Finance Minister Inouye and the Navy Minister, Admiral Abo, is higher than was expected, as it was generally believed the government would not consent to a program in excess of 300,000,000 yen [\$150,000,000]. The navy had submitted estimates during the six months since the London treaty was signed, ranging from 316,000,000 yen [\$158,000,000], according to the plan put forward by Admiral Taniguchi, the present Chief of Naval Staff, to 900,000,000 yen [\$450,000,000] demanded by the navy when the treaty fight was on in the Privy Council.

It is figured that the appropriation which is to be sought at the next session of the Diet will permit a tax reduction of 135,000,000 yen [\$67,-

500,000], including a 10,000,000-yen [\$5,000,000] cut in 1932 and 25,000,000 yen [\$12,500,000] annually thereafter. This is calculated on the basis of the expenditure which would have been involved had no limitation agreement been reached at London.

The new naval program provides for the expenditure of 218,000,000 yen [\$109,000,000] for new war vessels during the next six years, including 160,000,000 yen [\$80,000,000] for replacements provided in the London treaty and 58,000,000 yen [\$29,000,000] for vessels not limited by the treaty. The air force will be expanded by the creation of twelve new air corps, absorbing 90,000,000 yen [\$45,000,000], including the cost of upkeep. An item of 50,000,000 yen [\$25,000,000] is included for modernization of capital ships.

While a heated debate was expected to develop in the Diet concerning the naval program, its passage as submitted was virtually assured, since the Diet rarely interferes with army and navy budgets.

PREMIER HAMAGUCHI ON THE NAVAL TREATY

The depositing of the ratifications of the London naval treaty at the British Foreign Office on Oct. 27 was notable for an international hook-up of radio stations from Tokyo, Washington and London in order to permit President Hoover, Prime Minister MacDonald and Prime Minister Hamaguchi of Japan to deliver speeches for the whole world to hear. The Japanese Premier's speech on the occasion read in part as follows:

The memorable conference which was held in 1921 and 1922 at Washington failed to give a complete measure of relief to a war-weary world. A totally unexpected competition set in among naval architects in the production of numerous and very formidable cruisers. These vessels were so heavily armed, so swift and so well protected as to constitute a factor of extreme importance in any comparison of fleets.

It was some time before the existence

of the problem and its dangers and difficulties became apparent. Various efforts were made toward its solution, but they seemed to lead to no result, and the leading naval powers were rapidly drifting toward an impasse, with the prospect before them of a renewal of the wasteful competition and crushing expenditure which had been temporarily arrested at Washington.

This dangerous possibility was averted at London. The assiduous labors exerted in 1927 at Geneva were not without fruit, but paved the way for a welcome measure of disarmament. An understanding was reached between Japan, the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States to put an end to competitive building in all categories of auxiliary combatant vessels.

Nor is that tripartite agreement relating to auxiliary craft the only outstanding feature of the work of the London conference. A treaty embodying further provisions, designed to reinforce the limitation of naval armaments laid down in the Washington Treaty, and to regulate the activity of submarines in conformity with the dictates of humanity, was elaborated and signed by the five principal naval powers committed to one and the same noble end. I feel it is a great privilege to have contributed, so far as in me lay, to this happy result.

One cannot but feel that the moment is favorable for a wide extension of the policy of disarmament embodied in this treaty. Now that the Pact of Paris initiated by M. Briand and Mr. Kellogg has definitely outlawed war, it is clear that any breach of that solemn engagement must rally the whole world against the aggressor. Whether other powers come forward to offer their active help or not, it is hardly conceivable that they would allow the pledge-breaker to interfere with their trade and to enjoy the other privileges of a lawful belligerent.

The Treaty of London has opened a new chapter in the history of human civilization. We have once for all escaped from what I may call the "pioneer" stage, in which every nation's hand is actually or potentially against every other. We have entered on the sane and friendly "settlement" stage, in which every one is united to suppress intrusions by any one in another's sphere. A momentous step forward on the road of international peace and friendship has now been taken. Let it prove a prelude to still greater triumphs for that lofty cause.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Daniel Webster

Continued from Page XV

America has known. Our age is not in sympathy with the great rhetorical perorations in which Webster's contemporaries so delighted, but even today one feels some of the emotion which his speeches aroused. Placed in their proper setting they are still moving. The address at Plymouth in 1820, which John Adams said "ought to be read at the end of every century, and indeed at the end of every year, for ever and ever," the speech at Bunker Hill in 1825 and his eulogy of Adams and Jefferson the next year established his reputation as an orator.

Webster, as Fuess makes clear, was motivated throughout life by a spirit of independent conservatism coupled with an all-powerful love of country. To Webster the Constitution was a sacred document establishing a permanent Federal Union. Speech after speech reiterated this philosophy until it became the popular conception, at least in the North, of the character of the American Republic. In the end, as his present biographer maintains, "it is not hyperbole to say that we owe the very existence of our Union to the glowing words of Daniel Webster." His first opportunity to win wide attention for the idea of an indestructible union came in the Reply to Hayne in 1830, a speech whose concluding words were known to every schoolboy a generation ago: "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and indivisible." Twenty years later he made his final plea for union when on March 7, 1850, he rose in the United States Senate to speak for Henry Clay's compromise in an attempt to stave off civil war.

Without much question Fuess's *Daniel Webster* becomes for the time being the standard life of this New England son and may put a stop to the flood of superficial, sensational biographies which have clogged the market in the last few years. For it is a sane life which succeeds in portraying Daniel Webster as he was, a hero of the ante-bellum America. Like his lesser contemporaries he drank brandy, and liked it, but it never crippled his mind nor handicapped his work. Lax in financial matters, entangled with business in a way that would wreck the career of a modern statesman, he yet maintained an independence of position and point of view that might well be imitated today. With all the foibles of an average man he achieved greatness—leader of the American bar, the greatest of American orators, an outstanding Senator and one of the ablest Secretaries of State the United States has known. All this Fuess is able to show, buttressing his position with a mass of



Here's A Welcome Gift!

A gift to delight anyone who reads, writes, or studies. Webster's Collegiate is the best abridged dictionary because it is based upon Webster's New International—the "Supreme Authority." Solve your most puzzling gift problems by selecting the book that surpasses all other handy-size dictionaries in scholarship, accuracy, and usefulness—

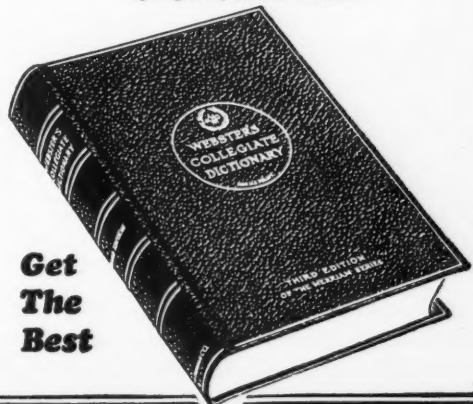
Webster's Collegiate Dictionary

Contains a vocabulary of 106,000 words with definitions, etymologies, pronunciations, and indications of proper use—a dictionary of Biography—a Gazetteer—a special section showing, with illustrations, the rules of punctuation, use of capitals, abbreviations, etc.—Foreign words and phrases—new words, and a wealth of other useful information. 1,700 illustrations. 1,256 pages.

Thin-Paper Edition: Special Merriam Cloth, \$5.00;
Fabrikoid, \$6.00; Leather, \$7.50.

Purchase of your bookseller; or send order and remittance direct to us; or write for information. Free specimen pages if you mention this magazine.

G. & C. MERRIAM COMPANY
Springfield, Massachusetts



Get
The
Best

information acquired through profound and extended research. With all its wealth of scholarship, the biography has escaped the curse of being "dry as dust"; it is intensely readable.

No one who reads this new life of Daniel Webster will come away without a new appreciation of Webster's contribution to American history. Gone now is the legendary Webster with all the sinister whispering about corruption and immorality; gone, too, is the "Ichabod" of 1850; the real man stands out. Here is the Webster who proudly said: "I was born an American; I will live an American; I shall die an American; and I intend to perform the duties incumbent upon me in that character to the end of my career."

The Riddle of India

By WALTER P. HALL

Professor of History, Princeton University

THE DILEMMA IN INDIA. By Sir Reginald Craddock. 378 pp. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930. \$4.50.

RECONSTRUCTING INDIA. By Edward Thompson. 404 pp. New York: The Dial Press, 1930. \$4.

THE POWER OF INDIA. By Michael Pym. 317 pp. New York: Putnam, 1930. \$3.50.

FORTY years' diversified experience lies in the background of Sir Reginald Craddock's defense of British rule in India. The author writes with authority, and also, for one keenly a partisan, with restraint. His point of view is tangible and clear cut. He does not believe in democracy as applied to the East; he does not believe that India is capable of self-government; the last ten years in India he considers wasted; and Great Britain in his opinion should deal with a firm and if need be relentless hand with sedition and revolt.

Sir Reginald's book is a mine of information, well organized and for the most part authentic. Racial and religious complexities, problems of caste, and poverty, and ignorance are analyzed clearly. With the present and the past status of the British services in India he is well acquainted, and the relations of Burmah to India on the one hand and of British India to the Indian Princes on the other are to him matters of every-day experience. Concerning the non-cooperative movement, Gandhi, the Simon Commission and the actual working out of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms he writes as an intimate observer.

The proposals made in this book are both striking and original. India should receive dominion status but as an Indo-British dominion. The writer would do away with dyarchy and inaugurate responsible government for the Indian provinces, exacting at the

same time guarantees which would prevent the Indian intelligentsia exercising much influence in Indian affairs. He is willing that three-fifths of the provincial legislatures should be elected and not nominated, but these three-fifths should represent the land and commerce (largely in European control) and the professions, thus securing a conservative majority.

India should become a federation. The central government should still exist for the purpose of controlling foreign affairs and for preserving, through the agency of the Indian army, the *Pax Britannica*. There should be no Federal Legislature on a Western model. For this he would substitute an Oriental Durbar consisting of delegates (not representatives) of the local provinces and the Indian Princes. Great Britain's purpose, he tells us, "is to obtain a body of elder statesmen" over whom the Viceroy should preside but by whom the Viceroy would not necessarily be directed.

These suggestions do not seem unreasonable. It is perhaps a misnomer to write of dominion status when the British are left in actual if not theoretical control. Quarrels, however, about terminology are not generally fruitful. If the suttee is still practiced in India when an opportunity offers, and if eight Brahmins can be convicted of beating to death a ninth for taking food from a man of lower caste, as happened this year, it is evident that the outsider still is needed.

The case for Britain is thus summarized by Sir Reginald: "(1) Without British help India cannot defend her frontier either on land or sea; (2) without British help she cannot maintain law and order within her boundaries; and (3), as she cannot do either of these things without British help, therefore without that help she cannot maintain her financial stability on which her credit and her prosperity depend."

Mr. Thompson's *Reconstructing India* is an approach to the Indian question from a more sympathetic point of view. To the weaker side of the British case Sir Reginald Craddock is oblivious; he does not appreciate the importance of psychological factors in history. He does not realize that if the football grounds of Rugby and Eton have conquered India they may also lose India. He writes of "a certain Oriental mentality" as characterizing Indian agitation, thereby showing that he himself is affected with a certain British mentality (none the less irritating because unconscious) which is synonymous with racial arrogance and aristocratic hauteur. For the work which Sir Reginald and men like him have done one has but profound respect; for his condonation of General Dyer and the Amritsar massacre one should have no respect whatever.

Mr. Thompson certainly has none. He, also,

For Christmas Give Current HISTORY

The ideal Christmas Gift for discriminating men and women. A subscription to CURRENT HISTORY is a monthly reminder of the thoughtfulness of the donor. It is a gift that recognizes the taste and intellect of the recipient.

Special Christmas Offers

One	1 Year Gift Subscription for	\$2.50
Two	1 Year Gift Subscriptions for	5.00
Three	1 Year Gift Subscriptions for	7.50
Four	1 Year Gift Subscriptions for	9.00
Five	1 Year Gift Subscriptions for	10.00

Notification Gift Card Mailed

We shall mail an attractive Gift Card bearing the name of the donor to each recipient of each gift subscription. Or, if preferred, we shall send the Gift Card to be mailed by the donor.

Order Blank

Current History Magazine (The New York Times Co.)
229 West 43d Street, New York City, N. Y.

I enclose to cover your Special Christmas Offers. Please enter the following Gift Subscriptions and mail Christmas Gift Cards where specified.

Names and Addresses:

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

For subscriptions to Canada add \$.75; Foreign \$1.25.

1931

1931

knows his India but from a different approach. For twelve years he was a professor in Bengal and at present he is a lecturer in Bengali at Oxford. From his pen we have received a book broader in scope than Sir Reginald's and more philosophic in tone. His analysis of the Indian nationalists is not only more friendly than Sir Reginald's, but is also much fuller. He seeks to understand Gandhi, his message and his influence. He has no confidence in the Indian Princes. He tells of a late native ruler who spent \$100,000 "on the marriage of two pet pigeons" and who harnessed two bankers to a chariot driving them in person about his capital. Democracy in practice may be bad but its opposite is worse. Mr. Thompson believes that the experiments in the last ten years toward democracy have been helpful; he would like to extend them.

Mr. Thompson is an idealist; he is also a realist. "As long as Hinduism is beset," he tells us, "with food taboos, as long as the country supports one-half as many oxen as human beings—151,000,000 cattle, among them millions of worthless cows, to 247,000,000 people"—just so long will poverty remain. Traditionalism and not the foreigner must bear responsibility in matters of this kind.

Little space need be given to our third book. *The Power of India* is an impressionistic picture of Indian ways and customs, semi-literary in approach and filled with such diversity of material as to lack form or synthesis. One might pardon this fault if the book had literary merit. This, however, it lacks. The author has tried hard to create an Indian atmosphere; what she has done is to create a stage India, not a real country.

Victorian England

By D. E. WOLF

THOSE EARNEST VICTORIANS. By Esme Wingfield-Stratford. New York: William Morrow. 1930. \$3.50.

AS WE WERE: A Victorian Peep Show. By E. F. Benson. New York: Longmans, Green. 1930. \$4.

SIDE LIGHTS ON QUEEN VICTORIA. By Sir Frederick Ponsonby. New York: Sears Publishing Company. 1930. \$5.

TWO of these three ecommentaries on the Victorian era add to the gaiety of history; the third adds to its general gloom. This is Mr. Wingfield-Stratford's profound but murky investigation of those much debated sixty-four years. Victorian investigations are beginning to rival Hoover investigations—in number if not in variety.

Since Mr. Wingfield-Stratford is also the author of *The History of British Civilization*, which is no mean achievement, his measured judgment of Victorianism is not to be trifled with. That his verdict on the age is thumbs down is not to be wondered at when we con-

sider that the author sees it dominated by the industrial revolution and the rise to power of the middle class. The first of these is pictured as descending upon England like a black storm-cloud, driving the helpless workers into conditions of abject slavery, "with the devil perpetually taking the hindmost and the fittest surviving, the fittest, that is to say, to survive in a universal black hole of Calcutta, where God's creatures fight without truce and trample one another to death for a breath at the solitary window." With the battle cry, "Produce, produce, in God's name," and with the return to free trade England climbed to a supremacy in world industrial markets to which she now looks back sadly and longingly. From the hideous sore spots of Manchester and Birmingham material blessings traveled to the ends of the earth.

Meanwhile the great British middle class, enfranchised by the reform bill, took over the affairs of the nation and became its spiritual as well as political ruler. Here indeed is material for a dirge! England engulfed in middle-class earnestness, middle-class respectability, middle-class morality, middle-class prudence, prudery, romance, sentimentality, common sense, optimism, righteousness, piety—worst of all, middle-class taste, and presided over by a middle-class God. And yet we have the feeling that Mr. Wingfield-Stratford's cheerless refrain is no specific damnation of Victorian England. We have only to top off a *David Copperfield* or a *Barchester Towers* with a *Main Street* or a *Middletown* to induce a certain amount of twentieth century humility.

Mr. Wingfield-Stratford, however, finds the middle-class guilty of more than its middle-classness. Faced with the unique challenge of the industrial revolution, Victorian England failed utterly to adapt life satisfactorily to its radically changing environment. Bankrupt in philosophy, it applied practical remedies and shirked the vital issues. "It was part of the Victorian sense of decency to avoid going to the roots of things," says this author, and therein he sees the tragic waste of a glorious opportunity.

But where, you may ask, was the aristocracy? Utterly, utterly in the shade, says Mr. Wingfield-Stratford—blind, stubborn, ineffectual and immersed in trivialities. With few exceptions, he points out, the stream of aristocratic genius had dried up. The giant Victorian personalities, and there were many, were almost all sprung from the middle class. And even these partook of the tragedy of their generation. They lacked the courage and the inner harmony, we are told, to exploit their mental and spiritual powers to the full. "They dared not unchain forces so violent and so uncontrolled." Gladstone was not sufficient-ly Gladstonian. Of all the brilliant throug-



MAKE A CHRISTMAS GIFT TO ALL HUMANITY

This little reminder booklet, for listing the Christmas cards and gifts you wish to send, will help you in your Christmas shopping. It costs a dollar—and this dollar goes into the fight for the control of cancer. The fight against cancer has been waged by the New York Cancer Committee for four years, and has been the means of saving many valuable lives to the community. Your contribution will be a Christmas gift to all humanity.

NEW YORK CITY CANCER COMMITTEE

OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE CONTROL OF CANCER

34 East 75th Street, New York City • Rhineland 0435

only Darwin, and possibly Dickens and Browning, realized the best that was in them, says Mr. Wingfield-Stratford. Perhaps the others needed a Wingfield-Stratford to expound to them their destinies.

If the Victorian ruling class was inadequate to posterity, they were nevertheless charming, intensely human and superbly unconscious of their own shortcomings. They inhabited a sort of insulated paradise which Mr. Benson's reminiscences reveal as decidedly attractive. It must have been very exciting to be a Victorian if you could hobnob with the great, as Mr. Benson did in his youth. Being the son of the Archbishop of Canterbury and possessed besides of a genial personality, which pervades every page of his book, he had rich opportunities for observing the great Victorians. And he looks back on his youth and the generation of his distinguished parents with a good deal of understanding, much humor and a natural bias in its favor. He is as unconcerned as his parents were with the desperate sociological problems depicted by Mr. Wingfield-Stratford.

Mr. Benson's childhood seems not to have been shrouded in the awful gloom of middle-class religious training which Mr. Wingfield-Stratford says depressed the Victorian child. Although the son of an archbishop he does not mention having been brought up on Watts. Nor is it intimated that he was told that the Lord would consign him to sizzling hell if he did not eat his spinach. On the contrary, it would seem that the Benson family managed to be quite cheerful in their piety. The Benson children seem also to have escaped that dead seriousness, earnestness and burden of parental tyranny which, according to Mr. Wingfield-Stratford, oppressed the Victorian home.

Mr. Benson has no idea of passing judgment on the Victorians. What he has to offer is entirely in the field of very good entertainment. When we have regretfully finished his book we feel that it has been eminently worth our while to find out that Mr. Gladstone played backgammon with furious ardor and had a scientific way of packing wet sponges; that Lord Salisbury rode his tricycle daily through St. James's Park; that Swinburne was once discovered doing a dionysiac dance naked before his mirror; that Browning allowed a group of female satellites at Oxford to crown him with roses, and that Lord Tennyson told an awe-struck young lady at a garden party that her stays creaked.

Any one who takes real delight in these "accessories" of history and who finds them worth the telling will find a like if lesser pleasure in Sir Frederick Ponsonby's *Sidelights on Queen Victoria*. Like Mr. Benson's, his is a family record, taken from the archives of his father who was the Queen's private secretary. Little is added to or detracted from

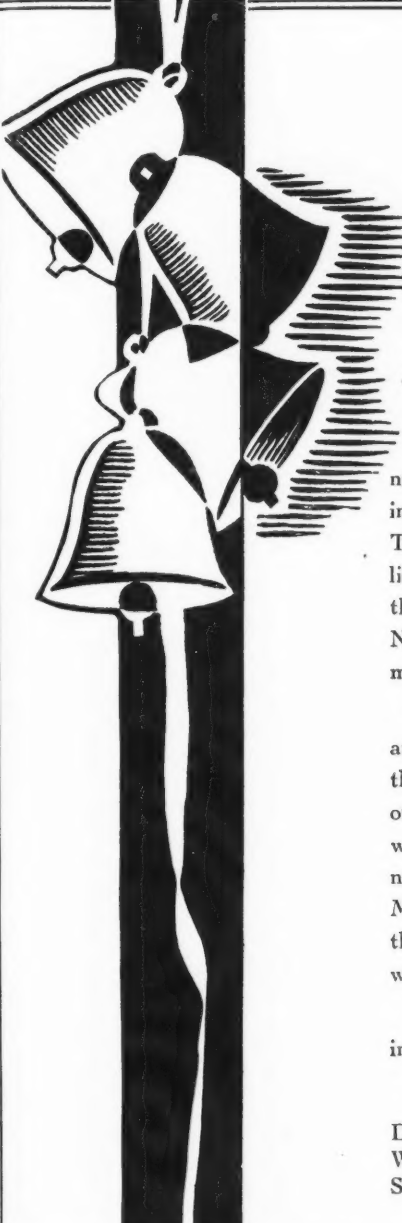
the portrait of the Queen. Her innate Toryism, her distrust of Gladstone, her abundant common sense are all brought out by this body of correspondence and memoranda which cover a number of controversies such as the franchise bill and the Queen's speech of 1881.

With the emotions of a Columbus the reader will discover the potential Pepys of the period, namely, Colonel the Hon. Arthur Hardinge, one of the Queen's equerries. This gentleman was often attached by the Queen to foreign royalty visiting London, and he would report the doings of his exalted charges to the Queen's secretary, Sir Henry Ponsonby. Thus we learn that Grand Duke Wladimir, son of the Czar, while visiting London in 1871, spent a pleasant Sunday afternoon at the zoo, with "the bears unusually complacent, the lion pompous but peaceful, and the Bengal tigers alone just a little restless. The elephant of Assam was conciliated by buns from Imperial hands and the chimpanzee barked with delight in belief that the pre-Adamite race had recovered the missing link in M. Poulstioff, a little personage of Kalmuch type." It is also reported that the Shah of Persia who accorded London a glimpse of his oriental magnificence in 1873 "only transgressed Western decorum (at a banquet) by the sly disposal of a thigh bone under the table." There is much more of this narrative which loses in the quoting. But the Hon. Arthur Hardinge became a General and was sent to Bombay and Gibraltar, and thus a Victorian Pepys was sacrificed to the great God of Empire.

Brief Book Reviews

SURVEY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS 1930. Prepared under the direction of Charles P. Howland. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xvii, 541. \$5.

The Council on Foreign Relations prepares annually a survey of American foreign relations which is invaluable to statesmen and to all those who follow the workings of American diplomacy. The most recent volume in this series is concerned with three great divisions: "The New Pacific," "World Order and Coordination," and "Post-War Financial Relations." In order to provide for better understanding of these phases of American diplomacy, the historical, cultural and economic background is carefully developed. The discussion of post-war Pacific diplomacy, for instance, is introduced by more than a hundred pages devoted to the setting of the problems of the 1920s. Post-war financial relations are concerned with the financial legacies of the World War, the Young plan, "war credits and war debts of Greece," and the more general subject of alien enemy property. The survey is an ob-



A Dignified, Practical Christmas Gift For the Friend Out-of-Town

A Subscription for The New York Times

YEAR AFTER YEAR an increasing number of thoughtful, appreciative men and women include one or more gift subscriptions for The New York Times as holiday remembrances. For friends or relatives living abroad or in the country nothing is more welcome than The Times unrivaled news, coming directly from New York, of business, politics, sports, society, art, books, music and the theatres.


Because of its special scope and accuracy, the interest and authority of its news columns The Times is recognized throughout the United States and the world as America's outstanding newspaper. The Sunday edition, like the weekday, is an incomparable publication combining in its news feature articles and special sections (The Times Magazine, Rotogravure Picture Sections, Book Review), the timeliness of the world's foremost daily newspaper with the sustained interest of a quality magazine.

Subscription rates of The New York Times by mail, including postage, in the United States:

See editorial page of The Times for foreign rates.

Edition	1 Yr.	6 Mos.	3 Mos.
Daily and Sunday.....	\$15.00	\$7.50	\$3.75
Weekday	10.00	5.00	2.55
Sunday	5.00	2.60	1.40

The New York Times



General Pershing's War Story starts in January, 1931, in The New York Times—an absorbing narrative of America's participation in the World War—to appear daily and Sunday for three months.

jective study without interpretation; in fact, one might wish that a little more evaluation had crept in. While to most people a volume of this nature would seem to be repellent and dull, the *Survey* is an exception, presented as it is with a charming literary quality which easily disguises what in any other case would be a terrifying desert of facts.

SWEDEN, NORWAY, DENMARK AND ICELAND IN THE WORLD WAR. Sweden by Eli F. Hecksher and Kurt Bergendal, Norway by Wilhelm Keilhau, Denmark by Einar Cohn, Iceland by Thorstein Thorsteinsson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xii, 593. \$5.75.

This work is an abridgment of the Scandinavian Series in the Economic and Social History of the World War under the general editorship of James T. Shotwell. Like the other contributions to this monumental series, this volume analyzes the effect of the war upon the complex social and economic forces of national life, not only during the immediate war period itself, but during the ensuing period of deflation or reconstruction. This study has a particular interest in that it concerns the neutral nations of the North and demonstrates again the truth of the classic principle that the prosperity and wealth of a nation in our economic order depend upon the prosperity and wealth of its neighbors and customers.

THE IMPENDING STORM. By Somerset de Claire. New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1930. Pp. x, 137. \$1.50.

This interestingly written analysis of the present international situation comes from the pen of an eighteen-year-old Oxonian. As a rule, outbursts from callow youths who presume to enlighten the world may be passed by without notice, but this one demands at least brief attention. The author makes no new observations, but he does put forward a clear statement of the world's danger spots in Europe and Asia, together with the international irritations which are leading toward disaster. He foresees a future universal war, and ventures a prophecy of the probable international alignment when the storm breaks. At the end of this general conflict he expects the emergence of the long-heralded international or world State.

Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

BIOGRAPHY

BALFOUR, ARTHUR JAMES, Earl of. *An Unfinished Autobiography, 1848-1886.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. \$3.50.

Reminiscences of the political history of England, by a distinguished participant, who died before they were complete.

CHURCHILL, WINSTON SPENCER. *A Roving Commission: My Early Life.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. \$3.50.

An account of his education, of his military

service in India, and of the Boer War as seen by a newspaper correspondent.

CRAIG, GORDON. *Henry Irving.* New York: Longmans. 1930. \$3.

A portrait, rather than a biography, by a man who knew Irving intimately.

GANDHI, MAHATMA. *Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story.* Edited by C. F. Andrews. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. \$2.50.

An autobiographical account of one of the most amazing figures in the world of today. An essential book for one who wishes to understand present unrest in India.

HAPGOOD, NORMAN. *The Changing Years: Reminiscences.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart. 1930. \$4.

Student life at Harvard in the late eighties, newspaper and magazine editing in later years, liberal politics at all times.

MISSOFFE, MICHEL. *La Vie Volontaire d'Andre Tardieu: Essai de Chronologie Animee, 1876-1929.* Paris: Flammarion. 1930. 12 Fr.

A personal friend and enthusiastic political supporter describes M. Tardieu's part in the political life of France during half a century.

HISTORY

DRISCOLL, CHARLES B. *Doubloons: The Story of Buried Treasure.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart. 1930. \$5.

Pirates' gold and other gold; how it was collected, lost and sometimes found.

DALE, EDWARD EVERETT. *The Range Cattle Industry.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1930. \$5.

An important chapter in the history of American industry. In its emphasis on conditions in the Southwest it supplements E. S. Osgood's book published a year ago.

DENKINE, General A. *The White Army.* Translated from the Russian by Catherine Zvegintzov. London: Cape. 1930. 15s.

A condensation of the five volumes of the Russian edition. The apologia of the General who led the contra-revolutionary armies in Russia in 1918.

NOBILE, UMBERTO. *With the "Italia" to the North Pole.* Translated by Frank Fleetwood. London: Allen & Unwin. 1930. 15s.

Contains a certain amount of material, not included in the Italian edition, and the more valuable in consequence.

WOODS, WILLIAM SEAVER. *Colossal Blunders of the War.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1930. \$2.50.

A demonstration that the war was fought by men rather than by supermen. A carefully prepared summary of blunders made by both sides and by all the armies.

ECONOMICS

GOLDMAN, JULIAN. *Prosperity and Consumer Credit.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1930. \$3.

The writer, the head of a chain of retail stores, describes the theory and method of instalment selling and attributes to it a "large share of the unique prosperity which the United States enjoys."

MYERS, DENYS P. *The Reparation Settlement.* Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1930. \$2.

An explanation of the Young plan, together

with the documents in the case. Includes the statutes of the Bank for International Settlement.

PATTERSON, ERNEST MINOR. *The World's Economic Dilemma*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1930. \$3.50.

Is it possible to reconcile the economic interdependence of nations and the spirit of nationalism? The author gives an analysis of the problem and makes suggestions toward its solution.

SHUMWAY, HARRY. *I Go South*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1930. \$2.

A superficial, but very readable, account of recent industrial development in the South.

POLITICAL SCIENCE.

BUTLER, NICHOLAS MURRAY. *The Path to Peace: Essays and Addresses on Peace and Its Making*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1930. \$2.50.

A collection of essays, written during the past six years, embodying President Butler's stirring appeal for "international understanding, international cooperation and international accomplishment."

SOCIOLOGY

BRANDEIS, LOUIS D. *The Social and Economic Views of Mr. Justice Brandeis*. Collected with Introductory Notes by Alfred Lief. New York: Vanguard. 1930. \$4.50.

This collection, together with that issued a few months ago containing the opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes, presents a view of the law which emphasizes human rights above those of property.

ODEGARD, PETER. *The American Mind*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1930. \$2.50.

An attempt to define American public opinion and to determine the forces that move it.

POMERAI, RALPH DE. *Marriage, Past, Present and Future: an Outline of the History and Development of Human Sexual Relationships*. New York: R. H. Smith. 1930. \$4.

One of the most satisfactory of recent studies on marriage.

LAW

STUDY AT HOME

Legally trained men win high positions and big success in business and public life. Be independent. Greater opportunities now than ever before. Big corporations are headed by men with legal training. Earn

\$5,000 to \$10,000 Annually

We guide you step by step. You can train at home during spare time. Degree of LL. B. conferred. Successful graduates in every section of the United States. We furnish all text material, including fourteen-volume Law Library, Low cost, easy terms. Get our valuable 64-page "Law Guide" and "Evidence" books FREE. Send for them NOW. LaSalle Extension University, Dept. 12392-L, Chicago. The World's Largest Business Training Institution

TYPEWRITER ½ Price

Save over ½-Rock Bottom Price on all standard office models—Underwood, Remington, Royal, etc.—Easiest terms ever offered. Also Portables at reduced prices.

SEND NO MONEY

All late models completely refinished like brand new. Fully Guaranteed. Sent on 10 days' trial. Send No Money. Big Free Catalog shows actual machines in full colors. Greatest bargain ever offered. Send at once!!



231 W. Monroe St. International Typewriter Exch., Dept. 1244 Chicago

COLLEGE COURSES

AT HOME



Carry on your education. Develop power to initiate and achieve. Prepare for college. Earn credit toward a Bachelor degree or Teaching Certificates by correspondence. Select from 450 courses in 45 subjects including English, Mathematics, History, Education, Psychology, Economics, the Languages, etc. Write for catalog.

The University of Chicago

537 ELLIS HALL

CHICAGO, ILL.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG. 24, 1912, OF

Current History

Published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1930, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Adolph S. Ochs, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the publisher of CURRENT HISTORY and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in Section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher—Adolph S. Ochs,
The Times, New York, N. Y.
Editor—George W. Ochs Oakes,
The Times, New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor—None.
Business Manager—Leonard Drew,
The Times, New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is:
Owner—The New York Times Company.
Stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock:

Adolph S. Ochs, majority and controlling stockholder, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Elisabeth Luther Cary, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Carr V. Van Andt, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Louis Wiley, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Emma V. and George Norris, Trustees of the Estate of John Norris, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Iphigene Ochs Sulzberger, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Effie Wise Ochs Trust, in trust for Effie Wise Ochs, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Julius Ochs Adler, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Arthur Hays Sulzberger, The Times, New York, N. Y.; George W. Ochs Oakes, The Times, New York, N. Y.; Jeanet E. L. Sullivan, 61 East 80th St., New York, N. Y.; John G. Agar, New Rochelle, N. Y.; Madge D. Miller, Pineapple Lane, Great Neck, L. I.; Hoyt Miller, Pineapple Lane, Great Neck, L. I.; Corporation of Yaddo, George F. Peabody, Pres.; A. G. Pardee, Sec., Saratoga Springs, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders, who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustee, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this first day of October, 1930.

[Seal]

ARNOLD SANCHEZ.

Notary Public, New York County, No. 744, New York Register's No. 2-8-931. Commission expires March 30, 1932.

TO AND FROM OUR READERS

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

AN article entitled "Constitutional Triumph in Bolivia" by Diomedes de Pereyra, published in October *CURRENT HISTORY* has aroused considerable comment. Extracts from several of the letters which have come to the editor are printed below. Victor Sanchez Pena, Consul General of Bolivia in New York City, writes:

The above-mentioned article has erroneous statements about the actual conditions in my country. Its context is in direct opposition to the harmony and unity which reign in my country at present. The problem of the separation of the various districts which the author set forth to a great extent has not existed in Bolivia for a good many years. Today, more than ever before, the country is united and there is no provincial sentiment. The way in which all parties in Bolivia united in order to save the country from the crisis which is affecting the entire world proves this.

George de la Barra, first secretary of the Bolivian Legation in Washington, writes:

Senor Pereyra, in his article, not only awakens fears of separatism, which fortunately do not exist in Bolivia at present, but he also belittles certain elements of our citizenship. He tells abroad the misunderstood works and the much discussed acts of our political leaders, not showing that it is owing to the efforts of these statesmen to a great extent that the policy of conciliation and harmonization now being pursued in Bolivia is materializing. The writer reveals not only a regrettable ignorance of general conditions in Bolivia but also a wrong idea of the most important centre of our nationality—La Paz—on which depends the development and the life itself of the republic. Outside the very well deserved praise that the writer bestows on Senor Daniel Salamanca and General Carlos Galindo, his appreciations of the last administrations and of former Presidents of Bolivia show not only lack of accuracy and equanimity but of discretion and dexterity which the most elemental patriotism demands of those who live and labor outside our own country. I am duly authorized to write this by the chief of this mission.

The most comprehensive protest has come from the Bolivian Consulate in Seattle, Wash. J. Landivar Moreno, former Consul, writes:

Diomedes de Pereyra describes the Bolivians as a people given over to the race struggle, embittered by the self-centered regionalism of her departments, where only hatred and rancor dwell; subjugated by the preponderance of the Aymara Indian, who has centralized all the activities of the republic in a single city, La Paz, where, according to him, 80 per cent of the inhabitants are Aymaras, and in the province, 90 per cent. He considers as madness the industrialization of this city, advancing two reasons—lack of raw materials, and scanty white population or consumers of manufactured products. In his racial study on the Quechua and the Aymara, he leaves established the existence of a deep separation between these autochthonous families which live on Bolivian territory.

Señor Moreno then answers these statements:

I have never observed a separatist note in Bolivian nationality; on the contrary, I have admired the patriotism of the towns far from the centre of the republic, put to the test on multiple occasions when the country was in danger.

The people of Tarija are proud of their patriotic fervor, which they put into practice when Bolivian nationality was formed. Cultured Chuquisaca does not hate her brothers of the north, and is distinguished for her fervent patriotism. The same is true of Potosí and Cochabamba, the home of the Quechua whom de Pereyra paints as submissive to the Aymara.

The Aymaras do not try to centralize the activities of the republic in the city of La Paz. In South American countries it is an established practice to concentrate the administrative activities in the capital city or residence of the government, and La Paz is the city where the government resides.

Mr. de Pereyra affirms that many of the Aymara Indians who attained a viceroy of culture have occupied administrative posts. It is very logical that they do so, if it is considered that Bolivia is a democratic republic whose Constitution and by-laws do not recognize social distinc-

tions; and whose native population forms 50 per cent of the total, including half-breeds. The recent rulers of Bolivia have not been Aymara in origin, with the exception of Senor Bautista Saavedra. The latter, an educated man, was elected by the delegates from Santa Cruz, Chuquisaca and Tarija, against the will of the representatives from La Paz. Gutierrez Guerra and Siles are from Chuquisaca. During the last twenty years, two Presidents from Chuquisaca, one from Cochabamba and two from La Paz have governed Bolivia. The Aymaras do not seek hegemony, nor have they established it in recent times.

Public education in Bolivia is decentralized; each department has its university, which is not true in many South American countries. Administration in general is also decentralized.

It can never be madness to attempt the industrialization of La Paz because it lacks raw material. Her proximity to the sea makes her the Bolivian city with greatest advantages for becoming an industrial centre.

La Paz is the most populous city of Bolivia, closest to the sea, and the residence of important national capitalists; it is connected with Peru, Chile and Argentina by international railroads, and all these conditions give impetus to the city's commercial and industrial development. Besides, the people of La Paz are enterprising, and know how to invest capital. It seems that the surroundings, naturally hostile, force them to greater activity and struggle. * * * There has never been a struggle between the Aymaras and Quechuas in Bolivia, which demonstrates the separation existing between those two autochthonous families, as is stated by Pereyra; the Indian is not opposed to the Indian, but to the white man by whom he considers himself exploited.

* * *

THE IRISH FREE STATE TODAY

To the Editor of *Current History*:

Mr. A. J. Reynolds's article, "Irishmen After Eight Years of Independence," in September *CURRENT HISTORY* misrepresented Ireland in almost every detail.

The present writer spent ten years of his life in Dublin and visited Ireland twice within the last four years. He knows every nook and corner in the land from Belfast to Cork and from Dublin to Galway. In the eighties he knew Dublin and was a professor in one of its leading colleges; he knew its students who ranked among the leading classes of the capital.

But the vista in those days was not that grandiose dream set before your readers by Mr. Reynolds when he writes: "Gone are the glories of those good old days when, amid political darkness, Dublin sparkled with Bohemian gayety and shone with social splendor." To use an Americanism, what "bunk!" The English garrison was there, it is true, snobbery reigned supreme, hedged in by bayonets, dragons, Tommies in red coats and brass buttons, and their "ladies in waiting." True; if there was Bohemian gayety, sparkling champagne, a rack-rented tenantry supplied the money.

Again, Mr. Reynolds remarks: "The Dublin of today is but a suburb of the ancient Dublin. It cut off its nose to spite its face and the virtue and folly of plastic surgery are becoming obvious." The present writer in June, 1929, seated in the upper deck of a tramcar with a few Dublin friends who accompanied him, proceeded from O'Connell's monument to Bray. The beautiful homes on either side were wreathed in roses, pink, white and red, and substantial new houses were in the course of construction everywhere. This was the Dublin

that I saw, not a Dublin "that cut off its nose to spite its face." The northern part of Dublin was just as attractive.

"Where is the literary force that once made such a noise in the world?" asks Mr. Reynolds. My reply is that scores of them are lying in Glasnevin Cemetery in patriots' graves—done to death by the Birkenheads, the Asquiths, the Churchills and the Lloyd Georges. Childers is there, Casement is there, MacSweeney is there and a host of other young writers who, if they had been false to their principles, would in the eyes of Mr. Reynolds "make a noise in the world." Mr. Reynolds's yarn about the Limerick clock is a calumny. Another is that "drink is writ largely on the faces and in the habits of the petty townspeople, and in the dreadful hovels and ragged children of the peasantry." That, of course, is sheer rodomontade. I saw a few isolated cases, but the exaggerations of Mr. Reynolds are unpardonable. When he visited Ireland, his heart must have been set on the glories of the great red-faced drunks of other days, the castle days of yore. Then "overbreeding" with this great humanist is the crime of the age, whereas statistics show unfortunately the amazing number of unmarried men and women in the land.

Lastly, Mr. Reynolds makes a cowardly attack on Mr. de Valera. Mr. Cosgrave, of course, is Mr. Reynolds's "tin god," but all the same he lifts Cosgrave up to dash him down again. Where then is all the prosperity that English and American propaganda has proclaimed for the last few years if Ireland is anything like the miserable picture painted by Mr. Reynolds? Surely if his description of the Irish is true, all this propaganda was false.

"De Valera's flash in the pan of theatricalism," we are told, "has practically cost him 90 per cent of his supporters." What a piece of arrant falsehood! In the last election between 400,000 and 500,000 voted for de Valera, almost as many as voted for the "Free" Staters. The next election will, it is confidently expected by Irish writers, bring de Valera back to power, notwithstanding the great appetite displayed by Mr. Reynolds and his ilk for a return to the fleshpots of Egypt.

Quebec, Canada. * * * M. MONAGHAN.

Among the many additional letters received from readers complimenting the editors on the changed appearance of the magazine is the following from the president of one of the largest advertising companies in the country:

CURRENT HISTORY has always been something that intrigued me. I like it particularly because it is a digest of current events, and in that sense is more like a newspaper that gives the record of things as they develop every second or minute of the day throughout the world. I might even turn this around and say that the daily newspaper could with profit copy the dignity of this magazine in its manner of handling current events because it cuts out or leaves out all the rough yellowness and froth that is in the daily newspaper, particularly the Sundays. The newspapers, more than any other instrumentality, have much to do with our educational standards, our social understanding of what is good, bad and indifferent in all sorts of ways and means, but it does seem that instead of respecting that privilege they rather dramatize it and put the less nice things in a sensitive fashion and stir up lots of things that are, to say the least, not as tasty as they might be. I say this not to be in any sense a crusader, but merely as another way of emphasizing the pleasure of reading a good magazine.

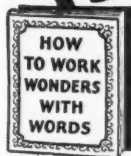
HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION at HOME

Easy, fascinating question and answer method. Used in 12,000 High Schools. Every subject covered. Certificate awarded. Amazing low cost. It's fun to learn this new way.

Send for FREE Book! Find out how you may prepare for bigger pay and social culture. Send this ad with name and address today.

HIGH SCHOOL HOME-STUDY BUREAU,
31 Union Square Dept. 1669 New York, N. Y.

Public Speaking - Has Its Rewards



NOW SENT FREE

If you are interested—
—to develop the ability to speak effectively in public or in everyday conversation—to forge ahead twice as fast as you are now doing, read *How to Work Wonders With Words* now sent free.

This new booklet, recently published, points the road that thousands have followed to increase quickly their earning power and popularity.

It also explains how you can, by a new, easy home study method, become an outstanding speaker and conquer stage fright, timidity and fear. To read this booklet will prove to be an evening well spent.

Simply send name and address and this valuable free booklet will be sent at once. No obligation.

NORTH AMERICAN INSTITUTE

3601 Michigan Ave., Dept. 1869, Chicago, Illinois

SHORT STORY WRITING



Dr. Esenwein

One pupil won a \$2000 prize. Another pupil earned over \$5000 in spare time. Hundreds are selling constantly to leading publishers.

Particulars of Dr. Esenwein's famous forty-lesson course in writing and marketing of the Short-Story and sample copy of THE WRITER'S MONTHLY free. Write today.

The Home Correspondence School
Dept. 43 Springfield, Mass.

WANT \$1260 to \$3400 YEAR?

U. S. Government Jobs
Men—Women
18 to 50

Steady Work Paid Vacations

Common Education Sufficient
Mail coupon today—SURE

Name

Franklin Institute
Dept. 1296
Rochester, N. Y.

Rush to me, entirely free of charge 32-page book with: (1) A full description of the position checked below; (2) A list of U. S. Government Jobs Obtainable.

COUPON
Railway Postal Clerk.....(\$1900 to \$2700)
Postoffice Clerk.....(\$1700 to \$2300)
City Mail Carrier.....(\$1700 to \$2100)
Inspector of Customs.....(\$2100 up)
General Clerk-File Clerk.....(\$1260 to \$2500)

WORLD FINANCE

A Month's Survey

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK
Editorial Board, The Annalist

IN the United States business developments during October were dismal and combined to make a gloomy anniversary of the stock market crash a year ago which precipitated the business depression. The extent of the disaster has been repeatedly rehearsed and can be verified by examining any one of a number of price and business indices. Values of securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange have declined almost \$8,000,000,000, and securities listed on other exchanges or unlisted have made corresponding declines. Examples emphasize this deflation in values. International Telephone and Telegraph Company only fourteen months ago sold for \$149 a share; recently it sold for \$25. A little over a year ago Montgomery Ward sold at 148 and is now available at 20. Any one who invested during 1929 in stock of Radio Corporation of America had to pay 114 or thereabouts and he now can buy it for about 20. Dozens of stocks of reputable corporations, in many instances with long earning records, can be selected with similar declines, and any stock selected at random from the list will show a drop ranging from 20 to 50 per cent.

Prices of commodities tell the same depressing story. Wheat sold last year for about \$1.40, and was around 72 cents the first week in November, 1930; cotton at 18 cents a pound last year contrasts with a bare fraction above 10 cents this year; copper was 18 cents a year ago and 9½ cents a pound the last week in October, 1930; silk at \$2 a pound on Nov. 5, 1930, compares with \$5 last year. The list can be extended to show that all classes of business men and investors have sustained important losses in the shrinkage in the value of commodities and securities. These losses have checked business activity, undermined confidence and continue to penalize enterprise.

Statistics made available for October show that the downward tendency of business activity has as yet not been checked, though here and there is some sign that bottom is being touched. No upturn is as yet discernable, and the best forecast that the statistics show is that, while the bottom may be broad, at least business may now become stabilized for some time at this lower level.

Commodity prices averaged 1 per cent lower in October than in September, the steepest decline coming in the first two weeks of the

month. During the last two weeks there has been a tendency toward more stable prices, with some advances, but the last week of October, in spite of these advances, showed lower average prices than the average for September. There were moderate advances in food products and in building materials. Prices of farm commodities were 2.8 per cent lower than the preceding month. Textiles were 2.7 per cent lower than in September, but in the last week of October showed some signs of firmness.

The stabilization of commodity prices at this lower level during the last weeks of October is the only stabilization sign yet discernable. When we turn to an examination of business activity, we are confronted with continued paralysis. Automobile production for the four weeks ended Nov. 1 totaled 141,423 units, against 203,244 units during the preceding four weeks, and compared with 204,666 units during the corresponding four weeks in October last year. The average daily production during the last week in August was 11,024 units; the last week in September it was 7,954, and the last week in October 5,304. These figures give a true picture of production declines during the intervening period. Sales of automobiles as shown by new car registrations in the United States indicate that consumer purchases are waning. In September, the latest month for which figures are available, new car registration totaled 180,754, against 203,737 in August, and compared with 304,442 in September, 1929. Wholesale sales of automobiles by General Motors to dealers confirm this tendency. During September these sales totaled 78,792 units, against 88,610 units in August and 146,483 units in September, 1929.

Building construction, another key industry, also makes a poor showing, though somewhat better than the automobile figures. The daily building contracts awarded during the first twenty days of October averaged \$14,000,800, against the average of \$12,764,000 for twenty-six days in September and of \$13,358,396 for twenty-six days in August. For the week ending Oct. 24 the daily average for the six business days had again declined to \$9,954,100. The deficiency for October is 17.2 per cent as compared with October, 1929, and the losses from 1928 and 1927 are 41 and 37 per cent, respectively.

1930-1931 Edition

The ANNALIST

Annual Review and Business Forecast

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16, 1931

An All-Year Reference Manual for every one concerned in any way with any type of domestic, Canadian or other foreign investments, with Industrial Trade and Banking Profits and with current shaping of business prospects by economic forces.

In view of the course of the markets since the break of October, 1929, and the general business situation, this edition of The Annalist Annual will have unusual value.

SPECIAL FEATURES

THE Business Lessons in the rise and collapse of the "New Era" prosperity of 1927-29 will be presented in a clean-cut analysis of the means by which the recent boom was created, and of the economic forces which brought it to an end in severe depression.

Foreign Markets for our Domestic Industries—New monthly studies of our

markets abroad, our sales in those markets, and the effects on prosperity at home.

Industry—Beginning with the Annual Number The Annalist will broaden its field by publishing continued studies of individual American industries, their organization, processes, production, markets and earnings, and their several contributions to the welfare of the nation.

Business Outlook for 1931

The editor's weekly article on the business outlook has won the serious attention of business and banking leaders in every section of the country.

Annalist Index of Business Activity

A monthly index which has shown with unflinching certainty the month-to-month fluctuations of business.

Conditions and Prospects in

Banking and Money	Commercial
Commodity Prices	Aviation
The Stock Market	Public Utilities
Speculative Com-	Investment
modity Markets	Trusts
World Trade and the	Automobiles
U. S.	Railroads
The Metals	American Invest-
Building	ments Abroad

Only Three-Year Price Range Published in Any Periodical

A unique feature of The Annalist's records of stock transactions on the New York Stock Exchange.

Complete Reports on

the year's transactions on the New York Stock Exchange, showing range for 1929 and 1930, total sales for the year, and dividend rates.

Bond Transactions on the New York Stock Exchange for 1930, high, low, dates, and total sales.

Transactions on the New York Curb for 1930, and on the security markets of other leading cities.

Tabulation of New Security Offerings

for quarter ending December 31, 1930, giving names of underwriters, price, yield and other essential data.

Edition limited to number of copies indicated by advance demand. Orders, therefore, should be filed promptly.

Price, 50 cents a copy, including postage

THE ANNALIST

Journal of Finance, Commerce and Economics

Published every Friday by THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY, Times Square, New York.

Yearly subscription, including THE QUARTERLY SURVEYS and THE ANNUAL NUMBER, \$7.00

The shrinkage in automobile production and in building construction naturally leads to diminished steel production. For the week ending Nov. 1 the United States Steel Corporation operated at 55 per cent capacity, against 65 per cent the last week in September and 66 per cent the last week in August. When independent steel companies are included, and figures are adjusted for seasonal variations, the decline in capacity operation from the last week in September to the last week in October is 16 per cent. Other business indices operate very much in sympathy with these key factors. Electric power production has not declined as sharply as decreased business activity would lead one to expect, but was nevertheless at the lowest point of the year. Freight car loadings have shown erratic declines during the month, but during the last week of October were higher than at any time since last August. The importance of this upturn is somewhat dimmed by the fact that freight car loadings usually increase at this time of the year because of larger freight in coal and grains. When corrected for seasonal variations, freight car loadings for the last week in October were, with the exception of the preceding week, at the lowest point of the year.

Money rates in October continued to go down. Call money averaged 1.97 per cent, commercial paper 2.89 per cent, 90-day acceptances 1.88 per cent; high-grade bonds yielded 4.16 per cent and bankers' bills in London 2.14 per cent. The Federal Reserve Board report shows a decrease in holdings of acceptances, attributed by the New York Federal Reserve Bank to the lower rates. One significant item in the monthly statement of the Federal Reserve Board is the sharp drop in loans on securities. At the end of last April, loans on securities by member banks had risen to \$10,432,000,000. From then on there has been a steady liquidation, especially sharp during September; at the end of October these loans stood \$8,814,000,000. This development is favorable, especially when taken together with recent sharp declines in brokers' loans, and indicates that the banks and brokers have liquidated large portions of their securities. Together these two developments are the most favorable aspects that have developed in the banking situation.

The Department of Labor reports that employment in September increased 1 per cent over August, and that payrolls increased 1.4, but the level of employment in September was 19.7 per cent lower than in September, 1929, and payrolls were 27.7 per cent lower. On the basis of this inadequate data it would seem that one-fifth of those employed in September, 1929, are now unemployed. This conclusion may need important qualifications, but it is

generally recognized that unemployment is widespread, and that large sections of the population are facing the Winter without work and without income. Relief measure by cities and States, tardily assisted by the Federal Government, were under way late in October.

BELGIUM

World-wide depression is beginning to have its effect on Belgium, though the country hitherto has been exempt from the more severe phases of the depression and in a certain measure has enjoyed considerable prosperity. Unemployment figures up to the end of August showed 18,000 out of work and 55,000 workers employed on a part-time basis. This, in a working population of 1,200,000, represents a very small proportion of unemployment when compared with conditions in the United States or Great Britain. The only disquieting factor is that these figures have been growing steadily and unofficial estimates since August indicate that unemployment has risen sharply and reached a peak late in October. During the first eight months of the year the visible balance of exports to imports has been unfavorable by 4,000,000,000 f., whereas the balance was unfavorable by 3,000,000,000 f. during the corresponding period in 1929. There has been a decline in ships using the harbor at Antwerp from 8,727 to 8,249 during the first nine months of 1930, the tonnage being reduced from 18,209,263 to 17,653,277. Railway traffic registered a decline of 15 per cent, though passenger travel has been well maintained and tourist travel appears to have been normal. On the whole, therefore, it would appear that Belgium is not escaping from the general world-wide depression, though the figures are by no means as unfavorable as in most other countries.

For the latter months of the year, however, the signs of depression are becoming more accentuated. Inactivity in consuming industries such as metallurgical, glass, textile, cement and brick works, has sharply reduced the consumption of coal, and the industry is beginning to show all the signs of entering a depression. Stocks of coal are now approaching 2,000,000 tons, whereas a year ago they were negligible. In part, this accumulation has been the consequence of competition with British and Dutch coal seeking an outlet in Belgium. However, the Belgian National Railways have now reserved to Belgian coal mines 90 per cent of their requirements for the next six months, and with the oncoming of seasonal increase in demand it is hoped to liquidate a large portion of the stock. Miners' wages have been reduced 4 per cent beginning with Oct. 1.

In spite of sharply reduced prices during September and October, the iron and steel in-

dustry has been unable to attract sufficient business to maintain production on a reasonably full scale. Pig-iron trade has been weak, though there is moderate activity in finished steel.

GERMANY

The German Cabinet has adopted a budget, originally outlined by the Chancellor, involving many features of the strictest economy. The government was aided in the Reichstag by the prestige it had gained in the successful negotiations for a foreign loan. The savings in the budget, estimated at about \$270,000,000, are secured by curtailing the work and salaries of all government departments and by reducing sharply social welfare disbursements and transfers to the Federal States and municipalities. Revenues in the new budget are estimated at 10,420,000,000 marks while expenditures are placed at 10,423,000,000 marks. The new budget was placed before the Federal Council during the latter part of October.

However, the Cabinet had to face difficulties from other directions. Arbitrators in the wage dispute of the Berlin metal workers recommended a reduction in wages, the first time incidentally that such a reduction had been advocated by this board in recent years. The government had hoped to pave the way for such general wage reductions throughout Germany by setting the example in giving lower salaries to all civil employees. But the Berlin metal workers refused to accept the decision of the arbitration board. In consequence a strike of 126,000 metal workers was declared. The strike gave Communists an effective tool for agitation. In a series of turbulent sessions the Socialists finally agreed to a resolution requesting the government not to consider the decision of the government arbitrators as binding. After two weeks' duration the strike was settled by a compromise effected by the Minister of Labor. Resumption of activity began on the old wage scale; a new and binding wage scale is to be worked out by a committee of three, consisting of representatives of labor, of the employers, with Heinrich Braun, Minister of Labor, as chairman.

The effect of the recent advance in the discount rate by the Reichsbank has been to stop the "flight of capital" from Germany. Though there are conflicting reports of business conditions, it is generally conceded that business has been on the upgrade. These are not borne out by the few industrial statistics at hand, though it should be noted that these statistics are not quite up to date. For example, unemployment was somewhat higher on Oct. 1, the latest date for which figures are available than for Sept. 1. Unemployment on Oct. 1 was 22.8 per cent among union workers against 22.0 per cent on Sept. 1.

EUROPE

ALL EXPENSES \$370 SEA AND LAND
FIVE COUNTRIES

Become acquainted with our amazing travel values. We specialize in economical European Tours for the intellectual elite. CUNARD Supremacy! 14,000 satisfied guests.

STUDENTS TRAVEL CLUB

551 Fifth Ave., N. Y. Write for Booklet D

\$250

EUROPE

Price includes round trip ocean passage, transportation abroad, hotels, meals, sightseeing and tips. Itineraries to every country in Europe. Write for free booklet, "E125"

THE TRAVEL GUILD, Inc.
180 North Michigan, Chicago
521 Fifth Avenue, New York.

FRENCH, SPANISH, ITALIAN GERMAN

Conversational method. Native teachers. Private lessons, 75c, short course, 9 to 9 daily. 22nd year.

FISHER'S SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES

1264 Lexington Avenue, N. W. Cor. 85th Street

HOME-STUDY

COURSES

THAT LEAD TO BUSINESS CAREERS

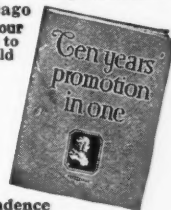
DO YOU WANT an important, high-salaried position? You can have one if you can do the work. LaSalle experts will show you how, guide you step by step to success and help solve your personal business problems thru the time-saving LaSalle Problem Method. Our salary-increasing plan enables you to prepare during your spare hours, without interference with your present duties. Simply mark on the coupon the field in which you desire success, and we will mail you a valuable book describing the opportunities in that field, together with an outline of our salary-increasing plan. Also copy of "Ten Years' Promotion in One." There is no cost or obligation. Find out how the salary-increasing plan starts average men and women on the high road to success and financial independence. Check and mail the coupon NOW.

— Find Yourself Through LaSalle —
LA SALLE EXTENSION UNIVERSITY
The World's Largest Business Training Institution

Dept. 12392-B, Chicago

I should be glad to learn about your salary-increasing plan as applied to my advancement in the business field

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Business Management | <input type="checkbox"/> Business English |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Higher Accountancy | <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial Spanish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Traffic Management | <input type="checkbox"/> Effective Speaking |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Modern Salesmanship | <input type="checkbox"/> Stenotypy-Stenography |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Railway Station Mgmt | <input type="checkbox"/> Telegraphy |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Railway Accounting | <input type="checkbox"/> Credit and Collection |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Law—Degree of LL.B. | <input type="checkbox"/> Correspondence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial Law | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Modern Business Correspondence | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Modern Foremanship | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Personnel Management | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Banking and Finance | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Industrial Management | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Expert Bookkeeping | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> C. P. A. Coaching | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Paper Salesman's Training | |



Name

Present Position

Address



Christmas Seals

ON EVERY PACKAGE!

HALF the fun of Christmas is "doing up" the packages. The other half is opening them. The 1930 Christmas Seals, showing old Santa with his Christmas tree, will add beauty to any Christmas mail. Better still, the funds from the sale of Christmas Seals will help protect the health of your community. Use Christmas Seals freely and so extend the Christmas spirit of good will to men throughout the entire year. Get your Christmas Seals today.

THE NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL TUBERCULOSIS
ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES

HELP FIGHT TUBERCULOSIS
